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Presidium Adopts 'Wide-Ranging' Amnesty Decrees

AU0412165789 Paris AFP in English 1528 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 4 (AFP)—The Albanian Government has decreed a "wide-ranging amnesty" that excludes, however, those who committed serious crimes against the state, the Albanian news agency ATA reported Monday. In a despatch received here, ATA said that 20.4 per cent of those sentenced were affected by the measure, which marks the 45th anniversary of Albania's liberation from Italian and German occupation. The agency did not give the exact number of people pardoned.

The amnesty, which was adopted by the Presidium of the People's Assembly and took effect November 20, applies to people under 18 years of age and over 60, as well as those with only 1 year of imprisonment left and women jailed for under 15 years. The law excludes those judged guilty of "serious crimes against the state," with the exception of people charged with defection or propaganda, ATA said. Those pardoned were freed from jails and given housing, the news agency said, specifying that the government had promised to find them jobs.

Murra Speaks at Liberation Day Military Parade

AU0412194089 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 30 Nov 89 p 1, 4

[Speech by Comrade Prokop Murra, minister of people's defense, at a military parade marking the 45th anniversary of the liberation in Tirana on 29 November]

[Text] Comrade soldiers, volunteers, schoolchildren and students, comrade officers, commanders, and commissars, people of Tirana and all Albania, honored guests!

The Albanian people and their Armed Forces are celebrating one of the most important dates in our national history, 29 November, the day of the liberation of the homeland and the victory of the people's revolution.

On this occasion, I greet you and wish you joy at this celebration, in the name of the party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers!

It is an inspiration, looking back over the past 45 years, to see how magnificently the achievements of our glorious Albanian Workers Party [AWP] and our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, have advanced. The party and Enver planned, organized, and directed the National Liberation War with wisdom and a sure hand, and forged the militant unity of the people in an uncompromising struggle against foreign invaders and traitors to the nation. It was they who brought us to our greatest and most historic victory, when the people took power into their own hands and became masters of the country and its destiny.

At this solemn moment, we recall with deep honor and respect our brave partisans and all those sons and daughters of the people who fought heroically, giving everything, including their lives, to lay the foundations of the new Socialist Albania.

It is a source of pride for us, who inherited an age-old legacy of great backwardness, to see how, within 4-and-1/2 decades, relying on our own resources, with the self-denying labor of our people, and overcoming various difficulties, we have built a new and lovely Albania, with diversified industry, developed arts and culture, prosperity for all, and a strong defense.

Our people come to the November celebrations united more than ever around the party and optimistic about the future that awaits them.

The years of socialism have been and will remain a great historical testimony. They prove in theory and practice what a free and sovereign people, trusting their own resources and advancing firmly on the path of their own national and socialist ideals, can accomplish in their country.

The position of Socialist Albania in the international arena has been increasingly affirmed and strengthened. With its just and principled policies, Albania has condemned the aggressive policies and acts of the superpowers and reactionary forces of every hue, and has supported the just struggle of the peoples for freedom and independence. Our policy is a policy of peace and of cooperation with all those who respect our people and their freedom, independence, and national sovereignty. It is a policy of good-neighborliness on the basis of familiar principles. We hold the view that the way to solve problems is not through confrontation and the use of force, but through constructive and equal dialogue.

Comrades, a healthy and optimistic atmosphere prevails throughout our country. Our working masses, applying the directives of the ninth party congress and the decisions of the plenums of the party Central Committee, have hurled themselves into action in order to fully carry out and exceed their tasks in every field of life. This is the best expression of their militancy and patriotism and an indicator of their political maturity, the steel-like unity of the people with the party, and the irreplaceable role of the masses in socialist construction and the defense of the homeland.

The current international situation is in flux and full of tension and class confrontation on a large scale. It requires us to sharpen our vigilance and increase our military alertness, tighten our unity round the party, accelerate the pace with which we fulfill our plans, and incessantly strengthen the defense of our socialist homeland. Thus, we will increase the prosperity and glory of our country, hoisting our banner of victory, and increasing the honor, prestige, and reputation of Socialist Albania in the world.

United like a single body, led by the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at its head, let us march, victorious as always, on the road shown by our people's revolution and the historic victory of 29 November 1944.

Long live our brave and industrious people!

Long live the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland!

Long live the AWP and its Central Committee, led by Comrade Ramiz Alia!

Glory to the life and immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism!

Seventh Volume of Hoxha's Diary Published

AU2611134089 Tirana ATA in English 0932 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 26 (ATA)—The 7th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's Diary came off the press. This volume comprises daily notes analyses and reflections, theses for discussion and articles, political evaluations and conclusions on the internal developments of the country and international events of the year 1965.

The notes for home affairs and the majority of those on external questions are published for the first time. They reflect important problems of the time, which are relevant even nowadays. The author has written down notes not only when he was in Tirana, but also when he had gone on business or vacation in other districts such as in Vlore, Pogradec, Durres, Korce, and Elbasan. From page to page the special care of the leader of the party for the promotion of the work in various sectors of the country becomes ever more evident.

Alia, Carcani Send Greetings to Lao Counterparts

AU0212180789 Tirana ATA in English 0932 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Tirana, December 2 (ATA)—The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, sent the following message of greetings to the secretary general of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary People's Party of Laos and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Democratic People's Republic of Laos, Kaysone Phomvihan and the president of the Democratic People's Republic of Laos, Phoumi Vongvichit:

"On occasion of the National Day of the Laotian people, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as well as in our own names, we convey to you and the Laotian people our warm greetings and wishes.

"The Albanian people have followed with sympathy the efforts and progress of the Laotian people in the construction of the country and wish them continuous successes on the road of the all-round development of the national economy and culture, their well-being and the country's prosperity.

"We wish that the friendly relations between our two countries develop even further in the future to the benefit of our two peoples".

Hoxha Signs Trade Protocol With DPRK

AU2711174389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] The protocol for the exchange of goods and services for 1990 between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the DPRK was signed in Pyongyang today. The protocol was signed on behalf of Albanian by Kostandin Hoxha, deputy minister of foreign trade, and on behalf of the DPRK by [name indistinct], deputy minister of foreign trade.

Kim Tal-Hyon, DPRK minister of foreign trade, and Ismail Djaloshi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the DPRK, attended the signing ceremony.

On the basis of the protocol, our country will export to the DPRK chrome ore, copper wire and ingots, and other goods, and will import magnesite, sheet iron, rice, and other items.

While in the DPRK, our delegation was also received by Kim Tal-Hyon, minister of foreign trade.

Greetings Exchanged With PRC Foreign Minister

AU2411181689 Tirana ATA in English 1047 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 24 ATA—On occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the PSR [People' Socialist Republic] of Albania and the PRC, the ministers of foreign affairs of the two countries exchanged messages of greetings.

In his message, the minister for foreign affairs, Reis Malile, expressed his satisfaction over the development of the relations and cooperation between Albania and China in various fields of mutual interest as well as the wish for their further extension, and wished the Chinese people successes in the country's progress and well-being.

In his message, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of China Qian Qichen, after hailing the 40th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, wished that the relations and cooperation be further strengthened and developed in the future.

On this occasion the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PRC in Tirana Gu Maoxuan gave

a reception at the embassy seat on November 23 evening. Attending the reception were the chairman of the State Planning Commission, Niko Gjyzari, functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Foreign Trade, etc.

PCI Central Committee Meeting, Changes Reported

AU2511213889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] As reported by ANSA, the Italian Communist Party [PCI] Central Committee approved a proposal made by Achille Occhetto, the party's political secretary, to drop the name communist and the hammer and sickle emblem. As ANSA points out, this decision was adopted following a bitter debate ending in 219 votes in favor, 73 against, and 34 abstentions.

REUTER reports that the aforementioned proposal met with strong opposition from the party's old guard, proud of the past of Italian communists in their struggle against fascism and after.

Occhetto pointed out that the party must modernize itself and come nearer to Western socialist ideals in order to keep pace with the reforms taking place in East Europe.

ANSA also reports a decision adopted by the Central Committee to call an extraordinary congress at the beginning of next year. It was suggested at the meeting that the PCI should transform itself into a social democratic grouping.

Leaders' Public Appearances Reported for 18-24 Nov

AU2511212489

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 18-24 November reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of report given in parentheses):

Rita Marko and Muho Asllani, AWP CC Politburo members, attended a national seminar on communal services in Durres on 18 November. (1900 GMT 18 Nov 89)

Pirro Kondi and Kico Mustaqi, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended the commemoration of the Fifth Assault Division in Tirana on 18 November. (1900 GMT 18 Nov)

Prokop Murra, Hajredin Celiku, and Muho Asllani, AWP CC Politburo members, attended the unveiling of a monument in Durres on 19 November. (1900 GMT 19 Nov 89)

Vangjel Cerrava, AWP CC Politburo candidate member, attended the anniversary of a partisan brigade in Korce on 20 November. (1900 GMT 20 Nov 89)

Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party (AWP) Central Committee (CC) first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani, AWP CC Politburo members; Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, and Qirjako Mihali, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended a ceremony at which the Republic Prize and other titles were awarded to intellectuals in Tirana on 22 November. (1900 GMT 22 Nov 89)

Pali Miska and Muho Asllani, AWP CC Politburo members, attended an agricultural seminar in Lushnje on 22 November. (1900 GMT 22 Nov 89)

Lenka Cuko, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, and Pirro Kondi, AWP CC Politburo member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary, attended a soiree at a Tirana orphanage on 23 November. (1900 GMT 23 Nov 89)

Hekuran Isai, Rita Marko, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Kico Mustaqi, Pirro Kondi, and Llambi Gegprifti attended the funeral of the victims of a recent helicopter crash, held in Tirana on 24 November. (1900 GMT 24 Nov 89)

Foto Cami, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, attended a ceremony on the 45th anniversary of Tirana Radio on 24 November. (1900 GMT 24 Nov 89)

Muho Asllani, AWP CC Politburo member, attended the inauguration of a new section at the Durres Chemical Plant on 24 November. (1900 GMT 24 Nov)

Hajredin Celiku, AWP CC Politburo member, attended the launching of a ferry boat on Lake Koman on 24 November. (1900 GMT 24 Nov 89)

National Assembly Session Agenda Released

AU0412194489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] In response to citizens' questions about the work of the National Assembly Session scheduled to open on 14 December 1989, an announcement was submitted by the office of the National Assembly chairman, according to which the session will discuss the following agenda:

1. Adoption of normative decrees submitted between the 10th and 12th sessions of the National Assembly.

2. Proposal on changes in the composition of the State Council.

3. Proposal on the release of the chief prosecutor and the election of a new chief prosecutor.

4. Proposal to elect chairmen of the permanent National Assembly commissions and members of the commissions.

5. Proposal to establish a National Assembly permanent commission dealing with questions of national defense and internal affairs, and the election of commission members.

6. Proposal on reducing the terms of office of National Assembly deputies.

7. Draft Law on public rallies, meetings, and demonstrations.

8. Draft law on public associations of citizens.

9. Draft Law on amending the Penal Code.

10. Draft Law on amnesty.

11. Draft Law on evaluation of technological (?innovations).

12. Proposal on the election of a parliamentary commission in charge of examining and resolving certain urgent problems related to distortions allowed to occur in social and economic life.

13. Proposal on the election of a parliamentary commission in charge of dealing with questions related to the construction of the Rila water power reservior and the Mesta water power reservoir.

14. Proposal on the establishment of a national center for the study of public opinion attached to the National Assembly.

15. Report to be submitted by the minister of internal affairs on resolving certain question related to citizens' complaints about violations of their rights.

16. Proposal of the Bulgarian Communist Party parliamentary group that portraits of leaders should not be exhibited in public places.

17. Adoption of a plan for the legislative and control activities of the National Assembly for 1990.

'Initiative Club' Formed in Journalists Union

AU3011090689 Sofia BTA in English 2334 GMT 29 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 29 (BTA)—A journalist initiative club in the Union of Bulgarian Journalists was founded today. Its aim is to search for a way for turning of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists into a competent organization protecting the rights of all who earn their living through journalism.

The club was established on the initiative of journalists from the Bulgarian Television. Its foundation was attended by about a hundred editors and reporters from Sofia and the country of the "ordinary" staff of the Journalists Association. Kosta Andreev, secretary of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, declared his desire to be a member of the club.

The tasks set by the initiators: convening of an extraordinary congress of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists in the nearest future with the participation of all members of the union, changes in the statute and the program of the union, participation in the preparation of a draft law for the press and information, offering of democratic changes in the Penal Code.

Daily Interviews 'Podkrepa' Trade Union Leader

AU0112180789 Sofia BTA in English 1435 GMT 1 Dec 89

["Independent Trade Union Seeks Dialogue" -BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 1 (BTA)—The Podkrepa Independent Trade Union seeks dialogue on equal terms with the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, said Mr Georgi Spasov, Podkrepa's official spokesman.

Interviewed for ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, he suggests that the discussion be held on the pages of the TRUD daily and that the working people be given a chance to say what kind of trade unions they want. A programme could be worked out on this basis:

"We favor trade union pluralism even within an enterprise. The official trade unions have so far accepted the BCP programme as their own and have served the nomenklatura. The Podkrepa leadership is entirely controlled by members of the trade union. We want something which cannot be achieved under the existing constitution because it provides for the state nationalization of everything, labour power included," the official spokesman of Podkrepa points out.

He says that 15,000 people have so far joined his trade union's professional and territorial branches.

Trade Unions Discuss Reforms at News Conference

AU3011215289 Sofia BTA in English
1851 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 30 (BTA)—The independent Bulgarian Trade Unions will act within the frameworks of a socialist choice and values said Mr Kosta Andreev, secretary of the Central Council of his organization at a press conference before Bulgarian and foreign journalists in this country.

He said that the independence of trade unions presupposes their "depolitization". Political struggles should not have an impact on them as this would bring to their tearing apart. Historical experience teaches that strong trade unions are united.

Speaking about the violations of the trade unions' rights in the past, the speaker recalled that "in 1981 the whole leadership of the trade unions was routed by Todor Zhivkov as it dared to declare that it will protect the vital interests of working people." And he said that society will be informed about the results of the work of the committee for rehabilitation of the unjustly repressed trade union leaders, of which he himself is chairman.

Mr Kosta Andreev recalled the declaration of the Chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Mr Petur Dyulgerov, alternate-member of the Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] that he is ready to give up all his other positions but the one of a trade union leader. This issue was discussed at the recent 5th Extended Plenum of the CC of the BTU.

Radicalism combined with realism, the striving towards a sincere, responsible and constructive dialogue are only some of the basic principles for the future work of trade unions which Kosta Andreev declared. He said that "the strike is a familiar weapon of the working class, which has proved its efficiency and the trade unions have not given it up." But it is an extreme measure which should be used only after everything else has been used.

Asked about recent labour conflicts in Varna, Veliko Turnovo and in Sofia, Kosta Andreev said that the trade union bodies have not always been on the side of the working people. The trade unions' renewal will take place "from below upwards" and only the working people will decide who is to protect their interests, the Bulgarian trade union leader official said. This will be promoted by the forthcoming election campaign of trade unions in December-January.

Asked about the Bulgarian trade unions' relations with the independent trade union "Podkrepa", Mr Andreev expressed the trade unions' readiness for a dialogue and cooperation. If we sit at the negotiating table we will find out that there is nothing to divide, he said. But if someone is founding a trade union for political reasons, he will obviously have to seek a dialogue with the poluitical parties.

The restoration of the Labor Code is one of the priority tasks of the BTU, Mr Andreev said. Besides the trade union leadership has prepared a proposal for cancelling of 64 Decree of the Council of Ministers, which "binds" the working people to the enterprises.

The trade unions have developed a project for settlement of the problems, related with the requalification of the working people made redundant. These are a few thousand people, who need social support, Mr Andreev said.

Besides, the trade unions will propose reforms in the system of payment, which creates disproportions, tensions and injustice in certain spheres, according to Mr Andreev. Terms will be set for improving the working conditions in certain enterprises of the chemical industry and other branches. It is written in the resolution of the latest plenum of the CC of the BTU that the trade unions will stop these enterprises if urgent measures are not undertaken.

Besides, in the near future, the post of speaker of the BTU is planned to be established.

Asked about his attitude concerning the Bulgarian citizens who have left for or returned from Turkey, Mr Kosta Andreev said that everybody who has gone beyond the work leave set by the Labor Code will have to endure the consequences. Laws should be observed, he said in conclusion.

Trade Unions Declare Independence

AU2711182689 Sofia BTA in English
1436 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 27 (BTA)—A resolution adopted at the fifth plenum of the Central Union of the Bulgarian Trade Unions, held on November 25 this year, expresses the support for the new political course, the beginning of which was laid by the November plenums of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

After stressing the poor heritage, left by the command and administrative system and the unrestricted monocracy, the document insists for an urgent publicity and openness about the following issues:

—the country's debts, the reason for spending the credits and the persons responsible for taking decisions for that

—the state of the budget, the budget deficiency

—how much the maintenance of the state apparatus cost the people

—the picture of the finance and economic relations with the other socialist countries

—the size and dynamics of inflation, the money without goods coverage, the unearned and speculative incomes

—the actual state of the living standards according to layers and groups of the population

—the state of the market and the goods deficiency.

The resolution stresses that the restructuring in Bulgaria has no alternative, that there is no future without it. A conviction is expressed that without democracy the restructuring will not succeed as it is only democracy which can wake up and stir the energy of the people, and unite social forces and take to the political stage those who are creating the goods and moving history. In relation with that the Bulgarian Trade Unions declare themselves for destruction of the command and administrative system in all structures and varieties. It is important to oppose to this system the democratization of property, guaranteed by law, independence and self-management of goods producers and their placing in dependence by the market alone.

The Bulgarian Trade Unions declare themselves for a state committed to the rule of Law and supremacy of Law.

The Resolution indicates that there is no place for the former trade unions, as part of the command and administrative system, with their role of transmission.

The Bulgarian Trade Unions declare themselves independent. Independent from the political organizations, from the state bodies and structures, from the economic and administrative leaderships and organizations, from the other social organizations and movements. The trade unions' independence is expressed in the adoption of independent platforms for action, in raising of alternative porgrams, in the right to legislative initiative, in the choosing of bodies and cadres without interference and guardianship, in the abolishment of the practice to take joint decisions with the state and economic bodies, in the expression of disagreement with the resolutions of state, economic and other bodies, which breach legal rights and interests of the working people.

The document declares the trade unions position on topical and most pressing socioeconomic issues, whose solving cannot be postponed. Priority tasks are pointed to be: The market normalization and the lasting removal of the deficiency of goods and services for the population, the establishment of conditions for free, interested and enterprising actions of the goods producers.

The Central Union [CU] of the Bulgarian Trade Unions [BTU] is recommended to insist in a dialogue with the government for the increase as early as in 1990 of the minimum monthly amount of pensions, including these of invalids and people pensioned due to reasons of illness to the amount of a 100 leva. The minimum monthly salary to increase to 165 leva, which in 1991 should be brought in compliance to the differentiated social minimum for the different categories. The trade unions declare themselves for the abolishment of privileges which bring to social inequality and injustice, for the introduction of a progressive income tax with higher taxes for the high incomes.

In relation with the destabilization in the work load the BTU declare themselves for a principally new system of work load.

By cutting other expenses the CU of the BTU gives 5 million leva from its budget for extending short-term financial aid paid to trade union members, who are unemployed, or without incomes.

Special place in the resolution is lent to the poor labor conditions and it is indicated that at present there are almost one million of people working in harmful labor conditions. In relation with that it is insisted that as early as in 1990 the production be stopped of raw materials, materials and industrial goods which have proved to be harmful for the health of people, as asbestos, foraldehide glue, some poisonous substances and chemicals, by implementing other technologies and productions as their alternatives. The document numbers some enterprises and insists upon urgent measures to be taken for a change of labor conditions in them indicating that otherwise, they should have to be closed.

After drawing the attention at the grave state of health care and education, the CU of the BTU insists on democratization and self-management of the health care establishments, on autonomy of the higher educational establishments, on prompt solution of the issues about the material and technical base in health care and education.

The resolution insists on a change of the attitude of state bodies to the issues of rest and resort treatment.

The CU of the BTU insists that the circulation will not be restricted of the TRUD and that the branch trade unions be able to solve alone the issue about their printed editions.

Plenum Protests Supression of Union Journal

AU0112115489 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 27 Nov 89 p 3

[Resolution of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions plenum held in Sofia on 25 November]

[Text] On 23 November, the printing of the trade union newspaper UCHITELSKO DELO was stopped by order of a representative of the Ideological Policy Department of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party on the grounds that the speech delivered by People's Deputy Slavcho Trunski in the National Assembly had been prepared for publication.

The plenum of the Central Committee of Bulgarian Trade Unions declares a protest against such an approach, which ran counter to the policy of broad glasnost.

Trade Union Plenum Proceedings Cited

AU0112191389

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 27 November on pages 2 and 3; on 28 November on pages 2 through 5; and on 29 November on pages 2 and 3 publishes reports totalling approximately 36,000 words on the proceedings and speeches at the Fifth Expanded Plenum of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions (CCBTU), convened in Sofia on 25 November in order to discuss "what the trade unions are, and what they must become in the future at this time of radical change...."

The 1,000-word summary report on the proceedings on page 2, entitled "New Foundations Are Being Laid," states that the following participated in the plenum: "members of the Central Council and the Bureau of the Central Auditing Commission of the Bulgarian Trade Unions [BTU]; chairmen of trade union federations and of trade union central councils; secretaries of CCBTU commissions who are not members of the Central Council; editors in chief and editors of the trade union press; and 30 chairmen of municipal BTU councils in large municipalities, "with the addition of 150 authorized representatives of labor collectives,...to whom the plenum granted voting rights."

The report states that Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the CCBTU, made an introductory speech, and then lists 35 participants who made speeches:

"Nikola Aleksiev, member of the CCBTU; Damyan Obreshkov, editor in chief of TRUD; Subka Marcheva, representative of the collective of the Dimitrovgrad Chemical Combine; Ivan Todorov, worker representative of the collective of the 'Ivan Dimitrov' Shipyard in Ruse; Dimitur Shopov, deputy head of a department at the Karl Marx Higher Institute of Economics; Kosta Andreev, secretary of the CCBTU; Zhelka Popova, representative of the collective of the 'Karitsa' Company in Karnobat; Prof Vasil Mruchkov, chief prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Berta Kalaora, scientific worker and trade union veteran; Ivan Iliev, chairman of the trade union council at 'Neftokhim' in Burgas; Panka Babukova, chairman of the Bulgarian Teachers Union; Katya Markova, chairman of the trade union council at the 'Maritsa' Typewriter Plant in Plovdiv; Angel Simbaev, worker representative of the collective of the 'Konstantin Rusinov' TKKI [expansion not known] in Pazardzhik; Dimitur Vasilev, representative of the collective of the 'Bulgarian River Navigation' Steamship Company in Ruse; Milan Milanov, representative of the collective of the 'Stomana' Company in Pernik; Gencho Dimitrov, representative of the collective of the 'Khan Krum' Combine in Turgovishte; Ivan Petkov, representative of the collective at the 'Nenko Iliev' Plant in Selievo and member of the trade union committee; Kostadin Tsenov, representative of the collective of OMZ [expansion of plant name not known] in Sofia; Zinovi Milev, representative of the BTU municipal council in Shumen; Krasimir Dimitrov, representative of the collective of the 'Khimko' Company in Vratsa; Ivan Latev, representative of the trade union commitee for general construction of the 'Belmeken-Sestrimo' stage of the 'Chaira' project; Zdravko Zdravchev, representative of the collective of the Central Institute for Computer Equipment and Technology in Sofia; Valentin Gurvanov, chairman of the Combined BTU Council in the USSR; Petur Banev, stoker, representative of the collective of the 'Vulkan' Company in Dimitrovgrad; Nikola Abadzhiev, chairman of the Federation of Trade Union Organizations in Forestry and Forest Industry; Kiril Parushev, representative of the 'Svetlina' Company in Sliven; Monika Petkova, representative of the collective of the 'Khan Krum' Company in Isperikh; Vutko Vutev, editor in chief of the BULGARSKI PROFSUYUZI journal; Ivan Peychev, chairman of the BTU municipal council in Ruse; Iliya Iliev, worker at the Hot Rolling Works in Kremikovtsi, Hero of Socialist Labor; Nedelcho Tsanev, setter, representative of the collective of the 'Georgi Dimitrov' Works in Ruse; Tsvetan Nikolov, chairman of the trade union committee at the 'Maritsa' Textile Combine in Plovdiv; Branimir Tsanev, chairman of the trade union committee of Varna Port; Engineer Dimo Deribeev, representative of the collective of Varna Shipyard; and Mariya Ilieva, representative of the collective of the 'Housebuilding' Company in Varna."

The report adds that "views in writing were submitted by a further 19 participants, and many others voiced opinions in the form of remarks, questions, and interruptions from the hall. CCBTU Chairman Petur Dyulgerov yielded to the temptation to take the floor several times."

According to the report, the matter of "an encroachment on the trade union newspaper UCHITELSKO DELO was raised at the meeting," on which a resolution was adopted by the plenum.

The report continues: "The announcement was welcomed with approval that the wrongly dismissed drivers at the 'International Road Transport' Economic Trust in Pazardzhik had been given their jobs back, and that the lawful demand of the labor collective of the ZIENO [expansion unknown] enterprise in Shumen that the enterprise should not be closed down had been met." In conclusion, it is stated that "Petur Dyulgerov closed the plenum, declining to make a final speech, but reiterating the title of the adopted resolution before the deeply moved participants: 'The Bulgarian Trade Unions—Independence, Protection, Actions.'"

The remainder of the published materials consists of apparent texts of the speeches by the above-listed 35 participants. Among the notable remarks reported are the following:

From TRUD on 27 November:

In his 2,600-word speech on page 2, "veteran trade union journalist" Nikola Aleksiev recounts arbitrary actions by Zhivkov against the trade unions, including a description of an undated Politburo meeting at which Zhivkov engineered the dismissal of Todor Prakhov, then chairman of the CCBTU, and several CCBTU secretaries. Aleksiev also denounces former CCBTU

Chairman Misho Mishev as a sycophantic supporter of Zhivkov. Aleksiev also proposes that Dyulgerov should resign from candidate membership of the Politburo in order to prove to the workers that the trade unions he leads are truly independent of political influence. This proposal is objected to by Prof Dimitur Shopov in his 200-word "interjection" published on page 3, on the grounds that "as a Politburo candidate member, Comrade Dyulgerov can and is obliged to defend the independent trade unions at the highest political level in our country."

TRUD Chief Editor Damyan Obreshkov, in his 1,800-word speech on page 3 in support of the resolution, emphasizes the necessity of the trade unions proving their independence by real action, and recommends developing genuinely independent trade unions that genuinely defend workers' interests in different industrial sectors. As for his own daily, Obreshkov describes his journalists' past difficulties in reporting "the true situation in the economy and the social sphere" and confesses to feeling "sharp pain from my own outpourings in past years about the plenums and Todor Zhivkov's reports," although he also gives examples of TRUD's courageous publishing of articles on workers' problems during the Zhivkov regime. He pledges that TRUD will continue to defend workers' interests against overbearing economic managements.

Subka Marcheva makes an 800-word statement, reported on page 3, about the severe industrial pollution in Dimitrovgrad and the town's poor medical facilities.

From TRUD on 28 November:

In his 2,100-word speech on page 2, CCBTU Secretary Kosta Andreev, in reviewing the past, comments that "the so-called April line was an attempt to change something in the Stalinist model of socialism, but using the means of Stalinism itself, naturally under another form. However, during this entire period the command-administrative system of the Stalinist type lost not a single position in Bulgaria." He later proposes that "the plenum should set up a commission to inquire into the distortions and wrongs permitted against trade union figures, which should make its report at one of the following plenums."

Bulgarian Chief Prosecutor Vasil Mruchkov describes in his 1,100-word statement on page 2 how the provisions of the Labor Code for defending the workers' interests were legally nullified by amendments and subordinate legislative acts.

At the end of her 1,800-word statement on page 2, veteran trade unionist Berta Kalaora points out: "There is nothing more important than work with the people; this is the essential feature of the trade unions. In this respect, I see even now a danger of the trade unions becoming cut off from the workers' class. What about the other trade union 'Podkrepa'? We should not forget that nature abhors a vacuum. If we fail to work with the people, if we fail to defend their interests, they will find someone else who will."

Dimitur Vasilev, representing the labor collective of the "Bulgarian River Navigation" Steamship Company in Ruse, in his 950-word speech reported on pages 3 and 4, speaks of his city's pollution problems: "The trade unions must spearhead the campaign by the citizens of Ruse for clean air, and put their demands to the state organs, instead of standing helplessly by watching their own members hold a demonstration. It is true that we now have trolley buses, and the electric power plants are converting to natural gas, but the Romanian plant that is belching out chlorine and four other noxious substances has still not been dismantled."

"A few months ago, in Galati in Romania," Vasilev continues, "a Bulgarian ship carrying a 12,000-tonne cargo and a 300-tonne passenger vessel collided. We know about the casualties and damage caused by the Philippine ferryboat disaster, the bridge disaster in San Francisco, and so on, but we only heard about this disaster from an AGERPRESS report that the Bulgarian vessel was solely responsible. The Romanian authorities are conducting their own inquiry into the incident, and Captain Georgi Angelovski is waiting for justice in Bucharest. However, I am not sure about Romanian justice, and therefore consider that the trade unions should apply to the state authorities and insist that they arrange with the Romanian authorities for Bulgarian lawyers, or lawyers empowered to represent Bulgaria, to attend and take part in the case hearing."

Later in his speech, Vasilev comments: "Regarding the 'Podkrepa' independent trade union, which I have heard about now from the plenum materials, I do not think there is any need for it to be decreed by law that only one trade union should exist. We must win the people's love and respect in a straight fight. Only then will we be an effective trade union."

From TRUD on 29 November:

In his 1,300-word speech reported on page 2, Nikola Abadzhiev, chairman of the Federation of Trade Union Organizations in Forestry and Forest Industry states, says among other things: "We do not accept as correct the attempts to split up the Bulgarian Trade Union organization. Democratic means must be used to preserve one of the historic achievements of the workers' class, namely the unity of the Bulgarian trade union movement. Cherished sacrifices have been made for this unity, it has been hard won over many years by hundreds of dedicated trade unionists, and we should not sacrifice it."

Finally, in his 1,400-word speech published on pages 2 and 3, Vutko Vutev, editor in chief of the journal BULGARSKI PROFSUYUZI, states: "During the break here, certain comrades told me that they had attended earlier plenums, as well, when they were younger, but they still see the same old familiar faces, as I can see with

my own eyes, and I am already serving my fourth term as a CCBTU member. This is why, in my opinion, the first step that should be taken, and this should be done at a special plenum of the BTU Central Council called to discuss the question of the style and methods of work of the Secretariat, the Bureau, the Central Council itself, and the entire system, is to take an inventory of the cadres. I am not talking about a purge. I know that many cadres have acted wrongly, while working with the conviction that they are giving their all to the cause, for the ideas and interests of the workers' class. But what is to be done, was everything really done wrongly? We all made a 180-degree turn, and not in the direction in that we should have gone. It seems to me that the resolution should include a note concerning the holding of such a plenum."

Further on BCP CC Plenum Record Summary

AU3011214589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Nov 89 pp 3, 4

[Unattributed report on the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee plenum at Georgi Kirkov Hall in Sofia on 16 November]

[Text] Comrade Pavel Matev pointed out that the time has come to call a spade a spade because we have enough distortions and have lost all confidence among the people. Social tension has emerged and the chief person responsible is the one who most strongly denounced monopolism and who deeply offended numerous creative workers without even a shred of compassion for Bulgaria's talented artists. He presumably did this as a kind of recreation while he was recovering from his efforts. As a matter of fact, no one can deny his work capacity; he wrote books in his recreation hours. He wrote on all kinds of subjects dealing with all the sciences and arts, including literature, of course. He launched the slogan: "Let us be closer to life, closer to the people!" As if writers lived on some distant planet and not among the people, as if writers lived in seclusion, and as if they were greeted with parades whenever they met the people. He used to threaten writers and carried out such threats. He became the inventor of an unheard-of esthetic formula entitled: "About great and small truth." I must tell you that truth can be neither small nor great. This formula, which was an outrage against the fine arts, gave birth to a no-less-fatuous statement, namely that our literature allegedly suffered from petty subjects and dealt only with common people. As if such things as common people and important people really existed! Literature deals with man, with his soul, and it does not matter whether he is a shepherd or a prime minister.

As far as the state to which our economy was reduced is concerned, experts have dealt with this subject. Only Grisha Filipov can tell us how it happened, but we do not know whether he is willing to do so, and we do not know whether we can fill our food shops by collecting all his speeches. Where have the virtues that we used to call modesty, confidence, honesty, and tact gone? They were replaced by confrontation with everyone who had his own ideas about the same ideal and did not share their opinions about it.

What did the journalists do to offend Milko Balev in order to be insulted by him? What did the film workers do to offend Emil Khristov so that consequently an attempt, based on nonsensical arguments, was made to eliminate the creative unions and almost succeeded in doing so.

Comrade Pavel Matev closed his statement by saying: I appeal to the writers, artists, composers, film workers, and journalists by urging them: Stand up, let us all stand up, comrades, and join the natiowide vigilance to guarantee and stimulate the restructuring process because restructuring is the just cause that requires our patience and the tolerance of our leaders. Impatience to reach total and sudden radical solutions may distort the progress of restructuring. Exaltation has never been the correct method of contributing to a patient and complicated change. It is important to search for a convincing and unifying judgement.

Comrade Konstantin Atanasov declared in his statement that, despite the great tension in various sectors, effectiveness was always very poor, even dropping below zero. The main reason for this should be attributed to the non-party style of leadership, which soon deteriorated from a collective style into a formally collective style, and over the last decades became an entirely totalitarian, one-man style of command.

Comrade Atanasov declared: At the initiative of Comrade Zhivkov's personal entourage, everything possible was done to promote all members of his family, all his relatives and friends, to the highest ranks. Naturally, not all of them were devoid of talent, but their personalities were soon distorted in this particular atmosphere.

Lyudmila was not only promoted to the Politburo, but as early as her second year of office her glorification began and it was suggested in various manners that she should replace her father as party leader. It is true that Lyudmila possessed some leadership qualities and that she greatly contributed to making our culture popular abroad; however, her abilities were far less brilliant than was suggested.

The case of Vladimir Zhivkov's promotion to Central Committee membership and to the post of head of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee Cultural Department, at the most inappropriate moment possible, with the good chance of becoming a Politburo member, was particularly striking. Anyone who knows him can say in good conscience that he has neither the experience nor the qualities for party work. Let us not talk about his scientific degrees that are certainly subject to investigation.

Everyone knows that Comrade Milko Balev is at the bottom of all these affairs. He evidently also had numerous assistants, and he knows best who they are.

Comrade Balev wrote a special book about Lyudmila that contained so many irresponsible evaluations and praises that Lyudmila herself, had she been alive and could read it, would have been embarrassed.

Comrade Balev devoted exceptional efforts to the publication of all party documents and reports exclusively under Todor Zhivkov's name. Why was this necessary? I think that he did it for his own sake, because it was no accident that he not only seemed irreplacable for as long as 30 years, but was also promoted to the post of Politburo member. After Comrade Lilov's dismissal, he even had ambitions to become the general secretary's successor.

Comrade Atanasov further pointed out, in citing a few examples, that if we describe Comrade Balev as a leader, we could say that his main obligation was to consolidate Todor Zhivkov's position without worrying about the means he used. In dealing with his specific tasks he used to show off, and he actually obstructed the work of the International Department. The commission that he chaired hardly ever submitted any substantial proposals to the Politburo.

Milko Balev was the only BCP Central Committee Politburo member whom the CPSU never invited or received.

Comrade Atanasov closed his statement by pointing out: The main question today is to resolutely and speedily implement the party's restructuring and genuinely restore the Leninist principles and methods of work under present-day conditions. The restoration of democracy and the establishment of a creative atmosphere and freedom of opinion for the optimal application of the party's potential and opportunities is important.

Comrade Petur Balevski pointed out in his statement that a resolute and bold implementation of true revolutionary restructuring—in cooperation with the people and in the people's name—cannot be achieved as long as no serious changes have occurred in the composition of the former leadership.

Comrades Grisha Filipov, Milko Balev, Dimitur Stoyanov, and others who were personally responsible for imposing a style and methods of work upon the BCP Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Secreteriat, which inevitably led to stagnation and delay, and in some respects even to regress, considerably diverted the party and state, our economy, and social life from the real meaning of the expected restructuring process, the speaker stated. The aforementioned comrades are, to a great extent, responsible for the administrative-command methods that were admitted within the Central Committee leadership, for the individual or group solving of general problems—including issues related to cadres, for the unjustified and endless structural and other changes, and for the new mechanisms and structures that were introduced and for which explanations always had to be found, but that were in most cases unjustified and were soon abandoned for the sake of new ones that were allegedly more original. The establishment of a super-ministry of the economy by no means resulted in a restriction of red tape or bureaucratic and command methods. Work in the financial and trade sectors deteriorated. Durable relations, mutual cooperation, and support for the companies that were actually required never materialized. Numerous very-negative phenomena and trends accumulated within the last 2 years in our economic sector. No comprehensive and complete system of planning, administration, and management of the economic sphere could be established. Gross disruptions were allowed to occur in the relations between production, incomes, and market supplies. The state plans are not compatible with the plans of the companies. The discrepancy still amounts to over 1 billion leva. No planning, material, or financial coordination exists. The rates of speed that were mapped were not achieved. The ideas about qualitatively new growth in the economic sector were not implemented at all. The contractual system has been disrupted! Basic foodstuffs and commodities that are essential for our national economy, such as milk, cheese, sugar, and footwear, textile materials, clothing, furniture, and many other things, are in short supply. As to the majority of the commodities in question, their production is expected to be under the 1988 level. We are now beginning to understand why our market supplies are dwindling while official statistics and accountability reports present things in a different, rosy light.

Cases of promoting leaders devoid of the necessary professional qualifications and experience, who promptly showed that they were incapable of justifying expectations and hopes, became increasingly frequent. I think that it would have been possible and even necessary to provide a more normal development for the careers of Comrades Petko Danchev and Stoyan Ovcharov. This would have been more useful for them and for the common cause. However, they were promoted too soon and were given opportunities for greater freedom of action than they deserved. The consequences are evident.

In his statement, Comrade Vladimir Bonev dealt with the exceptionally extensive and unique cause in which the party is engaged—namely, the total restructuring of our socialist society. Along with this, complicated problems were accumulated in all sectors of life, problems that remained unresolved, thus precipitating us into serious crisis situations. All kinds of rumors are being spread around today, and we are not openly facing the people to tell them what is true or not true.

From the rostrum of the plenum, Comrade Vladimir Bonev assured the renewed party leadership that the revolutionary cadres, the active participants in the antifascist struggle, totally accept the conclusions of last week's plenum and the initial measures that are being adopted for a radical change of our work. They not only accept them, but approve them, and shall actively contribute to their implementation.

Comrade Bonev stated: It is true that the entire party aktiv, the aktivs of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, of the trade unions, the Fatherland Front, and the Komsomol, our entire leading state and economic aktiv are now being mobilized and should be involved in the explanatory work. As a matter of fact, the say of the revolutionary cadres, who represent the living link between the past, the present, and the future, and their active participation in this explanatory work have their own weight and importance. Unfortunately, numerous leading party organs and figures have failed to involve such cadres in specific tasks, when they should mobilize the people in solving these enormous problems.

At least 20,000 of the 37,000 veteran fighters who are still alive could engage in active work among the population. The majority of them, however, are not being involved. They are left to remain inactive, and you know that this reflects on these people's disposition. They are confined to a life in retirment, which produces conditions for unhealthy moods and manifestations.

I would like to add something to the statements about Milko Balev, this sinister figure in our party leadership. Once, he joined a parliamentary delegation on a visit to Spain. At every opportunity—on the occasion of toasts or greetings in the provinces we visited—he used to interrupt the comrade who had the floor (Pando Vanchev, for example, was one of those whom he interrupted five or six times) in order to make some insignificant remark or express any old platitude.

On the occasion of a meeting with the Foreign Affairs Commission, people asked questions that I was supposed to answer, but he interrupted me. "I, as the head of the secretary general's office (something he used to stress at every opportunity) have investigated this question, and so forth, and so forth." I asked him twice to stop interrupting me while I was speaking, since afterward he, as a member of the delegation like everyone else, would have the opportunity of speaking.

Following Vladimir Bonev's statement, the floor was given to Comrade Khristo Dobrev who assured the plenum that the Communists and soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army also welcomed the decisions of the 10 November Plenum with great relief and have expressed their wholehearted support for Comrade Petur Mladenov's programmatic speech.

We should be clearly aware that restructuring problems cannot be successfully resolved without removing from the BCP Central Committee Politburo, the BCP Central Committee Secretariat, and the State Council those leaders who most eagerly promoted the prostration before Todor Zhivkov's personality, who contributed to the consolidation of the command-adminstrative, bureaucratic system and to the application of erroneous methods and styles of leadership within the party and state, and who do not possess the necessary professional qualifications, or who have made mistakes.

An important prerequisite for restructuring is to rally the people and consolidate the unity of the nation, Comrade Dobrev went on. For this purpose, the party should restore its authority as the unifying and leading force of our society as soon as possible. This should be accomplished not on the basis of power, but through resolute and consistent efforts in the interest of restructuring. The consolidation of the people's unity is not possible without strictly observing the citizens' rights, without the necessary measures for the solution of social problems, without a broad expansion of democracy and glasnost, without an active dialogue with the people and with various groups of citizens. Yesterday's meeting between Comrade Petur Mladenov and representatives of our intelligentsia is a good example in this respect.

Significant events involving exceptionally important consequences for the country's foreign, political, economic, and social development occurred in 1989. Hence, the causes of these events should be most thoroughly analyzed with a critical and self-critical approach.

There is nothing more disastrous for restructuring than pretending to engage in restructuring, Comrade Khristo Dobrev said in concluding his statement. Our recent experience unmistakably and convincingly shows that actions based on imprudent ideas or adopted on the spur of the moment, and the constant changing of tasks before they have even been carried out, as well as permanent and immature reorganization, are producing a lack of confidence in the stability of decisions and inspiring the cadres and executive personnel to adopt a wait-and-see attitude. In the final analysis, they undermine the people's initiative and discredit restructuring.

Comrade Krustyu Trichkov declared that in taking the floor he would like to express his approval for the measures recently adopted and to support the proposals on cadre changes.

We are very late in doing so. Much time has been wasted in hesitating to release certain comrades from their duties, he said. I have in mind Grisha Filipov and Milko Balev, in the first place. Recently, their presence and their Politburo membership, in particular, was an outrage against the Communists. The proposal to remove Vladimir Zhivkov and Petko Danchev from the Politburo was also justified. The promotion of relatives should never have been allowed in our party. Those who signed such decisions are responsible for it.

Todor Zhivkov declared the following during his meeting with students in 1989: The Ministry of Planning and Economy proposes a 12-percent increase in commodity stocks. (When we discussed this question at the National Assembly we did not believe even this percentage). We in the Politburo, Todor Zhivkov stated, have decided on a 20-percent increase. Let Todor Zhivkov come out now and explain the meaning of such illusions! Where is this 20-percent increase in commodity stocks? This is an irresponsible statement, it is nothing but irresponsible! I worked 5 years as his deputy in the State

Council. He had one favorite phrase. Whenever we told him: Comrade Zhivkov, this or that cannot be done, he used to reply: Only God is above us. Whatever we decide, should be correct. This is how far he went.

Comrade Trichkov further stated: I think that every one of us should be honest enough to admit his guilt, because for over 35 years we tolerated a man at the head of our party and state who had the opportunity to develop a cult of his own personality and to monopolize all power. Every one should admit his own guilt; we should not try to evade our guilt. We are responsible people. Every one of us has contributed his share to the people's alienation from the party. Every one should account to himself; he should reform himself and assess his own responsibility. It is evident that every one should express this awareness at the forthcoming plenums, apply it to his entire work, and to his everyday activities. If we do not do so, we would commit the mistake of assuming that one single man is responsible for everything. We are all guilty and every one of us should be aware of his own responsibility. Some of us are very, very guilty, of course.

Comrade Khristo Orlovski supported one of the first decisions adopted by the BCP Central Committee Politburo, following the 10 November 1989 Plenum, on restoring the party membership and activity of 13 comrades whose accusation and punishment was considered unjustified.

Comrade Orlovski stressed: It is beyond any doubt that this initiative of the Central Committee will contribute to a more open expression of the people's opinions and aspirations. However, if the hopes of the general public should be restricted to actions from the top, we would not go very far. I think that the most important task of the top should be to assist all organs and links from the bottom to the top, and to help all citizens of our country so that they should not wait for others to act on their behalf, so that we may change things for the better, and so that every one of us should find his place and devote his optimal efforts and abilities to real restructuring in our lives and activities.

I would like to close my statement with the following remark: Life and experience quite definitely show that it is impossible to proceed with success unless we look back and assess our past actions and achievements. Life and experience also revealed another fact—namely, that by merely looking back and assessing the past, we would not only stagnate, but even regress.

Comrade Venelin Kotsev pointed out at the beginning of his statement that our party and country are living through really historic days.

The correctness of the path upon we have engaged was felt particularly strongly on the occasion of Comrade Mladenov's meeting with the intelligentsia, the stenographic record of which we read. This meeting was very significant and encouraging. One absurdity of our party and our epoch has been eliminated. This absurdity consisted of the brutal breaking up of relations with an important part of our society, which was always closely linked with the party, which was an integral part of the BCP, and which represents perhaps our greatest national asset, because we evidently do not possess any great riches in other respects.

An exchange of opinions took place on the most crucial and most urgent problems. It was an exchange inspired by tolerance, a civilized and unifying exchange. We became aware that discussion is possible on subjects that caused traumas in the past, without using our fists, and without any political stigmas.

We should find a way of combining socialism with the interests of man, Comrade Kotsev continued. We should overcome the people's alienation from the government and from the means of production, he stated. A real and comprehensive democratization is called for; democratization should be implemented in all places and in all our actions. A civilized society cannot exist without such prerequisites. The practice of applying police methods should be totally eliminated. The militia organs and the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have a sacred duty to protect our society against criminals and criminal actions, but they should stop persecuting poets, artists, and citizens, and even diplomats, working in any sphere whatsoever.

I read a thriller in which life in a Bulgarian embassy abroad was quite realistically described, where people do not work very hard, but are busy gossiping and writing reports in which they denounce each other. It is perhaps for this reason that some embassy staffs are so uselessly inflated and the effect of our economic activities abroad is so insignificant.

Wherever the political vanguard is not doing its duty in critical stages of historical development, the processes of chaos are likely to produce unpredictable results, because there is and can be no vacuum in social life, and hence other forces may appear on the political scene, and the immediate danger of a restoration is likely to emerge.

Following a brief recess, the floor was given to Comrade Ivan Prumov, who expressed his stand on the proposals submitted.

As to the composition of the Politburo, and with a view to creating better conditions supporting the new line of policy, he proposed that Comrade Stanko Todorov, whom he knows as an honest and modest leader who was active in both the antifascist struggle and in all posts he occupied in the past, and also in the struggle for the new policy adopted by the party's November Plenum, should be included in the Politburo.

We all know the reasons for which Comrade Todorov resigned, Comrade Prumov said. The formal reason was his wife's expulsion from the party, but this expulsion was later evaluated as a mistake and the Politburo has already corrected its mistake. The real reason, however, was Comrade Todorov's total disagreement with the high-handed authoritarian and, to put it even more

precisely, tyrannical policy practiced by Todor Zhivkov, and especially by those who praised and glorified him. This policy evaluated cadres only according to the criterion of the party general secretary's confidence in them. This policy was adopted and applied by all his close friends.

I fully approve the decision to relieve the aforementioned comrades of their posts, including Milko Balev and Grisha Filipov, in the first place, and I also approve the motivation behind their dismissal.

The next statement was delivered by Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov.

After expressing his full agreement with the proposals of the Politburo, including his own dismissal from the post of BCP Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, he declared that he had worked for the Central Committee over the last 11 months. I was in charge of leading the work of the Secretariat as of March 1989. I must admit (although you know this, I would just like to emphasize the fact) that these months—particularly the period between May and October 1989—were not only a period of high tension, but as regards certain areas such as the Khaskovo, Shumen and Razgrad regions, the situation was really explosive. I am saying this in order to explain at least partially, if such things can be explained at all, that in my 12- to 14-hour working days I may have applied some coercive methods [silovi metodi], while Comrade Zhivkov spent 3 months in Varna at that time, and that I also may have been guilty of some tactless acts for which I would like to apologize to those comrades who may have been affected by them. I would like to say that I accept Comrade Nacho Papazov's statement about coercive methods, and at the same time I would like to explain to the plenum that throughout this whole period I tried to be careful, despite the existing tension, I tried to be correct and respectful, but at the same time I had to be strict, since all this was required as a result of the complicated situation.

Comrade Stoyanov continued: Over the 11 months that have elapsed, my idealistic views, which I preserved throughout my work in the Komosmol, in my work as a party functionary, and at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, began to fall apart. I could not clearly understand certain problems and I could not change them. I would like to be more specific. In the first place, as a Central Committee worker I had to coordinate all questions with the BCP Central Committee and the general secretary. We were expected to decide what should be done, what proposals should be submitted, we had to agree on the agenda of our work. I was personally disturbed by Todor Zhivkov's great distrust toward his chief aides. It often happened that people were talked about behind their backs. I still remember a meeting at which Comrade Luchezar Avramov was supposed to be relieved of his post. I never witnessed more rude behavior than that to which a party figure of Comrade Luchezar Avramov's rank was subjected. Subjective judgements and personal attacks against him were launched by Comrade Todor Zhivkov himself, who did not seem to care for the true results of the work accomplished in the economic organization under Avramov, or about the style and methods of this leader.

It was further pointed out in Comrade Stoyanov's statement that reactions and objections were made on several occasions by senior comrades such as Stanko Todorov, while he was still in the Politburo, by Comrades Dzhurov, Kubadinski, Papazov, and also repeatedly by Comrade Petur Mladenov, and by others. Nevertheless, these reactions and objections, which were recorded in the Politburo protocols, were not only never answered, but were often discredited in various ways, while only the general secretary's statements were taken seriously.

Considering that I shall not attend the next plenum, I would like to propose that the Politubro find some time (and I think that this is the main question today) to fully unmask the sinister role played by Mircho Spasov in our party, Comrade Stoyanov continued. This man caused great harm to our leading circles, and to our party leadership.

I would like to stress in closing my statement that here, during the recess, some comrades tried to express their sympathy with me and their compassion with their looks and words. You understand that my present situation is rather complicated, but I would like to say that I am glad, because as the poet said: "Individuals do not count...." What matters is the party. The party should come out unscathed by all this, it should proceed along a clean path, with new prospects for the future and a new leadership. This is the guarantee for the further progress of our great cause.

Comrade Vladimir Kalaydzhiev, after expressing his confidence in the specific proposals that were submitted, stated that this great package of proposals, this great cadre project that contains more than 25-30 proposals, could not be assimilated so quickly, and there is no time to reflect on every single detail. He joined Comrade Ivan Prumov's proposal about Comrade Stanko Todorov, and admitted that he does not understand the reasons why Emil Khristov should be removed from the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

I would like to say a few words about Comrade Nacho Papazov's statement and about the Politburo's proposal on his promotion to the post of Central Committee secretary and Politburo member, he said. I would like to look into Comrade Papazov's eyes and express my respect, sympathy, and affection for him. I support the proposal to promote him, but along with this I think that in his statement, and I support all of its critical remarks, he failed to dwell even briefly on the incident in which he participated together with the journalist Tambuev, whose membership was restored and who was reinstated in his post. I think that Comrade Papazov made this omission because he felt embarrassed and not because he does not realize the importance of the issue in question. I am referring to the Etropole affair that Comrade Nacho

Papazov presented to the Bulgarian public on television and about which he was certainly forced to say things of which he was perhaps not convinced, but he must have known that the truth about them did not coincide with his presentation. This was also one episode in the deplorable affair and atmosphere in which all comrades had to exist, especially those who were close to the highest leadership.

The people are awaiting each of our steps with impatience and suspense, Comrade Kalaydzhiev pointed out in closing his speech. In this connection, certain remarks were made about unclarified stories and unresolved affairs related to the behavior of some people in question. I think, the speaker said, that the BCP Central Committee should establish some kind of commission to pursue these affairs, to clarify them, and to submit definite stands and explanations to the people, because the people are aware of numerous things, they can guess some things, they are making comments, and all this is by no means to our advantage. Therefore, let us clean up all these things. The question related to the party's responsibility and to the responsibilties of certain functionaries, especially leading functionaries, is an extremely important issue, and hence I think that such affairs should not be passed over in silence, they should be fully resolved.

Comrade Elena Lagadinov declared that the party is composed of members, of leaders, and cadres, and it depends on what political convictions one adopted in joining the party as a rank-and-file member or as a leader. It depends on whether one has become a party member with the aim of serving in its ranks for the people's well-being and happiness. It depends on whether one is ready to sacrifice everything one has, or whether one has joined the party in order to build up one's own career and oppress our people's most honorable, most worthy, and most brilliant minds. I fully concur with Comrade Mruchkov's statement that we have not yet reached real sincerity. We have just marked a beginning. The fact that Todor Zhivkov has left is definitely a reason for rejoicing. The fact that we have a new general secretary—Comrade Petur Mladenov—and the changes he introduced in the leadership can only be described as hopeful. This hope should be substantiated, it should be vested in deeds and further implemented.

In the first place, I share and support the Politburo's stand related to the removal of Milko Balev and Grisha Filipov from the BCP Central Committee. They submitted innumerable developments, specific proposals concerning the future orientation of economic and social policy. They constantly accused us of having a negative approach to reality and of consumerism. I would like to request that, in evaluating the activities of every one of us, there should be glasnost about everyone's life, behavior, and work. We should be responsible for our activities before the Central Committee, the primary party organizations, and before the party statute, and we should all admit our responsibility because we are all equal.

Comrade Lagadinova, who also mentioned the discrimination against the role of women over the last 20 years, closed her statement by proposing that a system should be established for the training of cadres, closely related to the requirements of political conviction, high moral qualities, and great professionalism.

Comrade Radoslav Radev, after stressing that a crucial problem of our party should be discussed, namely the problem of higher echelon cadres, supported the proposal on Comrade Stanko Todorov's reinstatement in the Politburo, which he approves because Todorov is a respected and popular figure, and his return to the Politburo would be an expression of justice that would increase the Politburo's prestige. In supporting the proposal that Comrade Mladenov should become State Council chairman for the time being, the speaker declared that the idea of a future separation of these two offices should be further examined. Our party would only profit from this, and from a purely physical point of view it would give the party leader more time to deal with party affairs, and would deprive us of the opportunity to encourage an excessive concentration of power.

The euphoria will pass, we shall proceed forward, but we should free ourselves of numerous past habits and we should do so soon, the speaker added.

We recently witnessed numerous subjective decisions, vested in a collective form, which suffered total failure. Let us remember: Four Councils were established under the Council of Ministers; let us remember the statement that the Dimitrov Komsomol should no longer be named after Dimitrov; let us remember the total rejection of all unofficial movements and the simultaneous proclamation, stated in writing, that we are in favor of broad discussion, pluralism, and different opinions; let us recall the establishment of the National Council for Science, Education, and Culture that was decided 4 months ago; and, last but not least, the emergence of political and social forces' committees attached to the Fatherland Front, which in my opinion was an artificially fabricated initiative and likely to deprive the Fatherland Front of its individuality.

I will cite no more examples. Nevertheless, in dealing with all this it would be justified to say that Todor Zhivkov is not the only one who is responsible for this state of affairs. Comrade Trichkov said on this occasion, and I agree with him, that those who were closely associated with Zhivkov have certainly contributed to the situation. Let us be honest, let us look back at what happened 15 years ago and examine some statements made at party plenums and BCP congresses: Was it not an established tradition to compete in inventing the most striking and original eulogies in praise of Todor Zhivkov? A well-known political figure even published the statement that "Zhivkov is a glorious son of the Bulgarian people" in the press. Not only RABOTNICHESKO DELO, but also other media are responsible for this. Comrade Milko Balev was a particularly eager supporter of this thesis. I would like to say that I

attended the meetings of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat for 2 years, and I must admit that I was embarrassed to see how Balev tried to influence the BCP Central Committee secretaries with his propaganda in repeating Zhivkov's name six to eight times at each meeting. Once I counted 11 such expressions that he used during a 4-hour meeting, repeating: "as Todor Zhivkov said," "as he stated," and "as he teaches us." Comrade Milko Balev toured Latin America, Africa, and Western Europe, but I do not remember him going to the Soviet Union or talking to Soviet comrades. However, at the July 1988 Plenum, when Stoyan Mikhaylov was about to be eliminated, he dropped the malicious remark: "Comrade Stoyanov has anti-Soviet views." Todor Zhivkov immediately joined him and rudely attacked Stoyan Mikhaylov.

The speaker further pointed out that the endless flow of papers published in the general secretary's name should finally stop, that social justice and equality before the law should be promoted to a cult, and that the question of all possible privileges in Bulgaria should be examined, so that principally new elements may be introduced in cadre policy. The corrupted style of promoting people on the basis of family connections, common geographical origins, or for personal loyalty should be eliminated once and for all. Periodical accountability of the top leadership should be introduced.

Comrade Radev further explained how he feels about his personal responsibility related to his work for the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO. We were unable to cope with some drastic cases. This includes Georgi Tambuev's case. We had long discussions with Comrade Nacho Papazov and agreed that Tambuev should be just reprimanded or in the worst case censured, but that the public prosecutor in question should by no means be exculpated. Comrade Papazov submitted a proposal on this subject, but the general secretary reproached him, saying: "Why such liberalism?" Although the practice of submitting decisions adopted by the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission is not established, the decision was submitted to the Politburo, which adopted the well-known decision that was absolutely rejected by the people. On the basis of a Politburo decision, Nacho Papazov was forced to appear on television and to bear the responsibility for the people's negative approach, while RABOTNICHESKO DELO and TRUD were obliged to release articles trying to prove some facts for which there was no proof.

It is high time to clarify the question related to the ill-fated letter from a district party organization denouncing Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov.

Comrade Andrey Lukanov was the next speaker. He declared that he originally had not intended to take the floor, considering that he participated in the Politburo discussion and fully agreed with the proposals submitted, but that he wished to express some views on Comrade Dimitur Stoyanov's statement (however, not on a personal basis). After expressing his enthusiasm about the plenum proceedings and about the fact that the roots linking us to the most glorious moments of the BCP's development have not yet been eradicated, Comrade Lukanov went on to deal with Comrade Stoyanov's statement. I am satisified with the self-critical spirit of his statement and I approve his declaration of loyalty to the party cause, which I do not doubt. I am satisfied with the positive evolution of his stand, which has even changed since this morning. Nevertheless, his statement calls for a commentary. I do not intend to place Comrade Stoyanov in an even more painful situation, I really do not wish anyone to feel the way he is feeling at this moment. In my opinion, the question is that, despite his self-criticism, Comrade Stoyanov has not understood the main thing, that he has willingly or unwillingly become the exponent and promoter of a doomed bureaucratic system, of a style of leadership that has been rejected by history. Under his direct leadership and with his active participation, a merging of the BCP Central Committee organizational staff with some specialized structures of the State Security organs began to develop at an accelerated pace. This symbiosis, which has not occurred in the practice of fraternal communist parties for several decades, was aimed at two goals: In the first place, to guarantee the confirmation and prolongation of personal power; and in the second place, to substitute for the missing social dialogue, for political methods of overcoming social contradictions, and to solve the crucial problems of the nation through repressive measures, habits, and methods that he brought along from the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

This, Comrade Stoyanov, is what made your resignation inevitable and urgently necessary, both for your own sake and for the party's sake. I am sorry to rub salt in your wound. Everyone who knows me is aware that this is not my style of behavior. However, I cannot spare you this commentary, because this is a question of utmost priority and because the aforementioned symbiosis has always represented a deadly danger, not only for socialist legality, but for socialism as a political system. This is the main political lesson that we should learn from Comrade Stoyanov's case. We should do everything within our power to eliminate, once and for all, from the life of our party and society all opportunities of ever trying to bring us back to this unnatural symbiosis that would be fatal for any democratic party.

In his statement, Comrade Georgi Karaulanov pointed out that he is grateful for the experience of living in an epoch in which you can see how gods are created and overthrown, and that he has learned two lessons from this experience: In the first place, a mortal can be transformed into a god only if he is granted unlimited power, and provided that there should be a sufficient number of flatterers like Milko Balev around. In the second place, a deity can be overthrown only after it has lost the people's confidence. It is, nonetheless, a difficult process of development.

Comrade Karaulanov further expressed his views on the establishment of new state structures and submitted several specific proposals.

The role of the workers class has not been officially discussed over many years in any place whatsoever, he said. Is the thesis that restructuring is the top leaders' business true? Nothing of the sort is true. The top leaderss were forced to engage in restructuring—and this applies to Gorbachev, to us, and to all others. This happened, if not through strikes, at least through the silent commitment and passiveness of the workers class, because it has enough of the administrative-command system, and because the workers are tired of being fooled.

Comrade Ignat Radenkov asked that he should be granted the right to describe his 10-12 years of painful experience at the next or at some of the following plenums. He said that this experience was necessary in order to prove the existence of creative people in our country and the fact that the Bulgarian citizen is really industrious, that everything depends on his efforts. He stressed that totalitarian methods are not restricted to the top echelons, but that this form of leadership is spreading down to the lower echelons of the oblasts. How long are we going to repeat that the political situation is calm and that the people are engaging in active labor efforts, while in reality no work is being accomplished, financial means are being wasted, and imprudent management prevails.

If I have accomplished anything in my life, I have succeeded only by respecting everyone who is working, who is making himself useful, and not only those who have supported me in my career and are now resting on their laurels. Every one of us should support the line of progress.

Comrade Petur Mladenov proposed that after 28 speakers had delivered their statements, the floor should be given to Comrades Yotov, Todorov, and Filipov, who had asked for it, while all the others should speak at the next plenum.

Comrade Yordan Yotov declared that he would like to clarify some facts, but not in order to justify himself or alleviate his responsibility and guilt.

First of all, let us deal with the article against Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov. I have nothing in common with this article—neither with the initiative to write it nor with editing it. As a matter of fact, it was edited in another office, and you could guess which one it was.

In the second place, as regards Comrade Vladimir Zhivkov's promotion: I am certainly responsible for it, and hence, I am guilty, of course. How did things develop? Over almost a year the Ministry of Culture, Science, and Education was headed only by a minister, but it was not a proper ministry. Comrade Georgi Yordanov, on the basis of a mutual agreement with me, prepared numerous proposals and drafts for the establishment of such a ministry. He also proposed structures and so forth. All his efforts were rejected. I could not understand for what reason. The Ideological Policy Department, which was headed by Comrade Stoyan Mikhaylov, stagnated for almost a year.

During all this period, conversations were held with me on different subjects, but always including the same question: Comrade Yotov, what do you think about my son's position? Once, perhaps during the first conversation, or maybe it was during the second, I do not remember exactly, I said: "Comrade Vladimir Zhivkov has one essential shortcoming, and this is being your son and his promotion...." The conversation continued however, and I had to give way in the final analysis. When I proposed Vladimir Zhivkov, I must say that all these procedures resulted in the concept of splitting the BCP Central Committee Ideological Policy Department. When I proposed Comrade Vladimir Zhivkov as leader of the aforementioned Central Committee department at the Politburo, Comrade Dzhurov categorically objected. Since Comrade Zhivkov was not present in the conference hall at this moment, Comrade Dzhurov asked me to convey to him his categorical objection to the proposal. I did this but, as you can imagine, the objection was disregarded.

Considering that the question of what the Politburo members were doing and so forth is subject to discussion at this plenum, I would like to say a few words. I came to this high leading party organ from RABOTNICHESKO DELO, and before that I worked for over 30 years in a scientific institute, where an atmosphere of total freedom of discussion on all problems prevailed.

What is the way out of all this? The way out is to change the system. The system can produce not only one, but even two, three, or four Todor Zhivkovs. The way out is to reform the system.

Comrade Grisha Filipov refrained from taking the floor.

Comrade Stanko Todorov declared that he would like to speak on the proposal that Prumov, Kalaydzhiev, and Radoslav Radev had submitted in connection with his Politburo membership. After expressing his gratitude to them for appreciating his work, he asked them to withdraw their proposal.

The story of my resignation in July 1988 is well known, Stanko Todorov said. I would not like to dwell on this. As you know, I also raised the question of my resignation from the National Assembly at that time. Following the July Plenum, I asked Comrade Kubadinski, chairman of our party's parliamentary group, to go to the general secretary and discuss the election of a prospective new National Assembly chairman at the next session. Kubadinski went to the general secretary, after which he reported to me: "The general secretary does not accept your resignation from the National Assembly. You should keep your job there. We have to tell you that you should not cause any further difficulties for the party by

retiring from the National Assembly, but you should continue to work there." I answered: "If I am causing trouble for the party then, all right, I will stay on and endure." Following this, however, things at the National Assembly proceeded in the same way as in the past—the Politburo and the State Council having totally deprived the National Assembly of all authority. Evidently, all comrades are aware of this and many comrades discussed the subject.

I was obliged to write a letter to the Politburo on 14 July 1989 in which I declared that the Constitution should no longer be violated and that the country's supreme legislative organ has been deprived of its prestige to such an extent that it has entirely lost the respect of the population. Neither the legislative work is proceeding as required by the July Concept, nor is there any legislative activity at all, considering that the country has lately been ruled by decrees, nor is the National Assembly carrying out any control activity, since the chairman of the Council of Ministers has not reported to the National Assembly for the last 8 years, despite the fact that the National Assembly includes the report of the government leader in its annual working plans. This report, however, was systematically suppressed at the instruction of the general secretary, of course, and with the premier's contribution as well.

In addition to this, 2 years have elapsed since the election of a commission in charge of amending the Constitution. Todor Zhivkov, who was the chairman of the commission, did not find enough time to convene it and start working on the amendments.

What was the reaction to this letter I wrote? Comrades Dimitur Stoyanov and Pencho Kubadinski summoned me. I remember that this happened on 14 September, and they informed me that the Politburo had discussed my letter and rejected my critical remarks on the grounds that they were unnecessary, considering that the National Assembly's work was satisfactory, and the local parliaments were functioning well, and so forth. I declared to my comrades that I would not take back any of the things I had written in my letter, and this is how the matter was closed.

I think that my return to the Politburo is not required. If the comrades from the Central Committee think that I could finish my term of office as chairman of the National Assembly I will fulfill this task without being a Politburo member. I will be 69 next month and I will soon be 70. I have no career to look forward to. It would be correct to give the general secretary the opportunity of recruiting young and promising cadres for the Politburo.

Comrade Petur Mladenov stated in closing the meeting:

Comrades, in proposing to end the debates, I am clearly aware that what I am going to say now should be very brief and should not be considered as the closing statement of the discussion that has taken place here. I would just like to touch upon certain points.

In the first place, we should stress the fact that, following the plenum held on 10 November, the present plenum could easily be described as a continuation of the 10 November plenum and that it actually turned into a sort of a purgatory for all of us. I just told Comrade Elena Lagadninova when I met her in the lobby that she had correctly understood the significance of our debates. They were a purgatory for our party and for the Central Committee plenum itself, because many things were admitted, many truths were said, and because we also heard some bitter truths.

What else could we do? We could not help letting all this happen, because otherwise this plenum would not have taken place at all, and it would not have been held in the spirit of the 10 November decisions. It would not have proceeded in the spirit of the new policy, of this new political line in which we have engaged.

I think that today's plenum deserves a high evaluation. I am profoundly convinced that, if all the other comrades who asked for the floor would have delivered their statements, they would have further contributed to this great assessment. I regret that we had to interrupt the statements, but we agreed that the comrades in question should have the opportunity to speak at the next plenum.

Following the November Plenum, the people assessed the new political line. Their evaluation can be described as positive. The truth is that people are talking about enthusiasm and hope. Some of them mentioned that the mood was even close to euphoria in some places. Is this enough? No! I definitely think that this is only the first step that we have accomplished; it is only a beginnning. This is what it is, just the first step. I think that these steps are the first roots of something that should emerge in order to restore the people's trust in the party, in its abilities, and in its strength, in order to restore confidence in the party as our people's and our country's leader. The party should be a worthy leader. We should restore the people's confidence so that the party may become our people's vanguard.

I think that this evaluation represents a commitment for the BCP Central Committee, and it would be correct to accept it.

The other day, at my meeting with representatives of our inteliigentsia, many people mentioned the subject in asking me: "Comrade Mladenov, many people have spoken, we heard many promises, we adopted numerous programs, and numerous concepts were developed for us in the past, we were promised a bright future, and so forth. Where are the guarantees and who can guarantee that this program that you intend to develop, this new line of policy you are proclaiming, will be implemented?" I answered them that our party is the guarantor.

Comrades, I think that, following today's plenum and following the 10 November Plenum, following the discussion which took place a short while ago, we could say: The BCP Central Committee is worthy of playing the

role of guarantor. Our party Central Committee has the forces required for this. Honest and dedicated Communists are working in our Central Committee. They are loyal to the party's cause, loyal to socialism, and faithful to Marxism-Leninism. This is the only conclusion that should be drawn from today's discussion. We are capable of providing guarantees! Naturally, many things should be done. However, forces capable of backing up the decisions of the November Plenum and of guaranteeing their implementation really exist.

We are now discussing the question of whether RABOTNICHESKO DELO should publish the record summary of this meeting. I think that it would be appropriate under all circumstances to submit the record summary to party aktivs all over the country. They should be acquainted with the problems discussed at the plenum. Let them know what the Central Committee and its members are thinking. I am convinced that this will inspire them with confidence, that we are dealing with serious problems. I think that it would influence the entire party—namely, the oblast aktivs, the municipal aktivs, and the aktivs working in primary party organizations, and so forth. It would just inspire the entire party to promptly tune in on the wavelength of the new policy.

Provided that the plenum agrees, we could do so within the coming days. Naturally, we should be clearly aware that, following the dispatch of the record summary, there will be no secrets and everyone will know the truth, but I think that we could start with this as an initial step. Evidently, after they have closed, we could also later submit record summaries of our plenary sessions to the primary party organizations. This is nothing new, however. It is an old Leninist tradition. As early as in Lenin's time, all primary party organizations were acquainted with the records of Politburo meetings and plenums.

I think that the most important issue today is to devote our attention to the preparations for the next plenum, Comrade Mladenov further stated. You are certainly aware, comrades, that we have assessed the critical remarks, at least those related to the work of the Central Committee. We intend to change things at once, wherever this is possible. The next plenum will be prepared in this manner. All Central Committee members have received a letter on the subject. I ask all of you to devote all your attention to it, and to submit your ideas and views on the problems that one expected to be discussed, and especially to propose what we should do. We will not adopt a concept at the next plenum, we will not engage in theories. We would like to adopt a specific working program on an annual basis. You may say that these are petty ambitions, when we are talking about the requirement to adopt a program for the next 5,10,15, or even 20 years. However, we should develop a program for our activities until the next congress. We should not waste any weeks, or even days. This is what I am talking about.

Comrade Mladenov concluded his statement by saying: I think that it is very important for us to go among the people after this plenum, to go the party organizations, enterprises, and cooperatives, and so forth. The whole Central Committee and all its members should be mobilized, they should go to the oblasts, towns, villages, and so forth and talk honestly to the people, sincerely discuss with them our present state of affairs, and tell them about our intentions. If we fail to mobilize the party and people, our intentions are doomed to failure. I think that a commission in charge of the preparing a draft amendment to the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria should be convened next week.

Following Comrade Petur Mladenov's statement, the Central Committee voted on the proposals of the Politburo. The results of the voting were published.

The plenum closed at 1950 Bulgarian time.

Antigovernment Demonstrations, Unrest Continue

Slovak Students Demand Resignation

LD0412183889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] The statement of the Slovak Coordination Committee of the Institute of Higher Learning on the new composition of the federal government has been published in Bratislava.

The statement recalls the demand of civic initiatives and of the student movement that this composition should be in harmony, percentagewise, with the representation of individual political parties and civic initiatives. It should also reflect the current sociopolitical situation.

The statement says that the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] has thus far failed to understand the seriousness of the extraordinary situation, contrary to public opinion which has stripped it of its monopoly of power. It maintains its position artificially and strives to change the situation to its benefit. In a new 20-member government, 15 places have been taken by the CPCZ. It left one place each to two parties and three to non-party ministers. This government composition does not provide any guarantee for truly pluralist and democratic development or our society and for free elections. The preparation of free elections needs a government of experts who would secure the beginning of implementation of new economic, social, cultural and education programs.

The Slovak students therefore continue to strike and demand the resignation of the federal government. They also have no confidence in the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic, which so far has not taken sufficient steps to change a situation in Slovakia.

The Slovak Coordination Committee of the Slovak Institute of Higher Learning concludes its statement by saying that if its demands are not accepted it will appeal to all working people to join a second general strike on 11 December. It also informs the Czechoslovak radio that this afternoon at 1500 GMT there will be another demonstration at the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava.

Wenceslas Speakers Criticize

LD0412160189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] As in previous days, under the St. Wenceslas Square statue speakers are taking the floor and groups are discussing the events of the last 24 hours. The main topic is the composition of the new Federal Government. Speakers have been focusing their criticism on the fact that over one-half of the chairs have gone to Communists; this does not correspond to the current distribution of forces.

Specific persons have not been discussed so far because people do not know them and do not know what to expect from them.

A manifestation of citizens to support the demands of students and of Civic Forum will take place at Wenceslas Square beginning 1600. Listeners will be able to follow the course of the demonstration in a direct relay on Hvezda from 1600.

Civic Forum Statement

LD0412194489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Statement by Civic Forum and Public Against Violence on the current political situation read by Vaclav Maly at an opposition rally in Wenceslas Square, Prague, on 4 December—live]

[Text] My name is Vaclav Maly [crowd gives big cheer, chants: "Long live Maly!" eight times] and I am going to read to you a statement by the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence on the current political situation, dated 4 December 1989.

Civic Forum and Public Against Violence came into being spontaneously as an expression of the long-suppressed aspirations of the people for a positive resolution of the crisis in our society, which culminated in the brutal intervention against the students demonstrating on 17 November. Both of these movements are working to restore democracy in our country, and to create a society of free citizens who can make responsible decisions about their own destiny.

The fundamental goal of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence is, therefore, the guarantee of free elections which should be held by July 1990 at the latest. [crowd applauds, cheers, chants: "Free elections."] However, we must prepare ourselves properly for them.

The ideals of Civic Forum and Public Against Violence have quickly won wide support among the public. This support imposes obligations on all their members. At the same time, however, neo-Stalinists are mobilizing in the ranks of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] in an effort to preserve or only slightly modify the compromised political and economic system. [crowd jeers in support, chants: "Shame"!] To this end they are not only misusing the well-organised CPCZ apparatus, but also a number of state institutions. [crowd jeers in support, chants: "Mafia!"]

In this situation, the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence can ensure that free elections are held only if they become an organized and internally cohesive coalition of all the democratic political currents in our society. [crowd cheers, applauds, chants: "Unity is strength!"]

Therefore, we recommend that the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence should enter the elections with

joint candidates, with the political affiliation of some candidates stated as necessary. [crowd cheers, applauds, chants: "That's right!"]

After the elections, the different political parties could, if they wanted to, leave the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence. However we envisage that the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence will also make it possible for those citizens who do not become members of any of the existing political parties, and who will also guarantee the whole process of transition to a democratic state based on the rule of law, to engage in organised political activity after the elections. [crowd cheers and applauds]

Part and parcel of this process must be an overall change in the structure of our society's political and economic system, and not only the necessary replacement of people in leading positions.

In this way the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence can contribute to developing direct democracy in our country. [crowd cheers, applauds, chants: "Long live Forum"]

We thank you for your support—we need this from you more now than ever before. [crowd cheers, applauds, chants]

The Civic Forum and Public Against violence should, therefore, enter the elections as organized political forces representing all the strata of our democratic public. [crowd cheers and applauds]

The Civic Forum's Coordinating Center and Public Against Violence's Coordinating Committee are cooperating with the local Civic Forums and Public Against Violence centers, and with the strike committees not only in the towns and rural areas, but also in enterprises and other organizations. Both these coordinating bodies have only a conceptual, organizational and informative function, and not the function of giving commands. In the period up to free elections we envisage that the peaceful transition to a democratic state will be ensured by all three [Federal, Czech and Slovak] governments and the other state institutions. The governments will be gradually modified to give considerably greater representation to the whole political structure of our society than hitherto. [crowd cheers] We hope that their members will be primarily experts supported by members of the Civic Forum and Public Against Violence. [crowd cheers, chants: "That's right!"]

The Civic Forum's Coordinating Center in Prague and the Civic Forum Committee in Brno will maintain up-to-the-minute contacts with the present Czech premier, Mr Frantisek Pitra. It appears that the government line-up will have considerably more people who are trusted by the Civic Forum than is the case in the current federal government.

We want to avoid a constitutional crisis which could threaten the further development of our country. We want to show that even radical changes in society can be made in a calm and humanly dignified manner.

Dated 4 December 1989, in Prague. [crowd cheers, applauds, chants: "Long live Forum!"]

Palous Reads Statement

LD0412181189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 4 Dec 89

["Statement" read by Radim Palous on behalf of the Civic Forum to opposition rally at Wenceslas Square—live]

[Excerpts] My name is Radim Palous. On behalf of the Civic Forum, I would like to read the following statement:

Undoubtedly some deputies of representative bodies have deceived the voters' trust. [chanting; whistling] We mean, for example; the following Federal Assembly Deputies: Jakes; then David, Fojtik, Indra, Bilak; then Hoffmann, Stepan, Vaclavik; Kabrhelova, Lenart, Ceska; and others. [chanting; whistling throughout]

The legal adjustment for recalling deputies belongs to the era which we are trying to change; and thus the procedure is very complex and almost impossible to use in practice. [passage omitted] [chants of "Recall them"]

These deputies have not found enough courage and strength to admit the irrevesible fact that they have lost—in the legal sense—the right to be deputies to the Federal Assembly. [chanting, whistling] They have not given up their mandates themselves; thus it is the responsibility of the relevant organ to submit to the Federal Assembly Presidium a proposal to recall them. [applause, chanting] These organs, however, as if they do not hear the wish and will of voters, remain silent. We believe that it is necessary to give tangible proof to these deputies and also the relevant organs of the clear will and wish of the population which says: You do not have our mandate. [applause, chants of "they don't have!"] A great number of Prague citizens and others outside Prague have gathered here, and thus we can compare this gathering to a meeting of electors who have the right to publicly demand the recall of deputies. [chants of" Recall"]

Industrial Strike Committees' View

LD0412181489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Statement read by Igor Pleskot on behalf of the association of strike committees of industrial enterprises and other institutions to opposition rally at Wenceslas Square, Prague—live]

[Text] My name is Igor Pleskot and I am going to read the position of the association of strike committees of industrial enterprises and other institutions.

We support Civic Forum and Public Against Violence in their assessment of the current situation. [shouts of approval] We call on strike committees to increase their strike alert and make provisions for a possible demonstrative general strike. [shouts of approval] We state further that the proclamation to all trade union members and the verbal declaration to convene the 12th regular trade union congress is a futile attempt by the apparatus of the Central Trade Union Council to regain confidence which it has completely lost. [applause and chants]

It is only the strike committees which today guarantee confidence in a new trade union structure. [applause] We call on them to organize new elections into works committees on the basis of proposals by the membership. These should be held by 20 Dec. [applause] We will convene the congress of the new trade unions in January 1990. [applause] It will tackle questions of the structure of trade unions and securing our joint social, professional and cultural interests. [applause] Let us finally take trade unions into our hands. [shouts of approval and chants]

Opposition Demonstrates for Strikes

LD0412205489 Prague CTK in English 1620 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Prague Dec 4 (CTK)—At today's demonstration on Wenceslas Square, actor and National Theatre director Miroslav Machacek read a statement of the artists' strike coordination committee, stressing inter alia that the reconstructed federal government does not correspond to the nationwide demand for the forming of a government of experts. This government virtually confirmed the leading role of the Communist Party, which was constitutionally abolished. "Tension in society increased and we shall therefore return to the original form of the strike until December 11, 1989. We support the demand for the president to consider whether or not to remain in office. We express our solidarity with the renewed strike of university students and the Civic Forum", he said. [passage omitted]

On behalf of the coordinating centre of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, Jiri Cerny said that there is a growing impression that words are not changed into deeds quickly enough and asked why the Czechoslovak Communist Party has 15 seats in the new federal government while other political parties of the National Front have such small representation. He pointed out that under the publicly expressed will of Czechoslovak citizens the Communist Party has been deprived of its leading role. He called on the government to work out a law on a change of the administration system because the present system does not enable even the best ministers to make the most of their abilities. In case that those in power do not understand the our intent at this moment we will call another general strike for December 11, Jiri Cerny said.

Dissatisfaction With Government

LD0412195789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpt] [passage omitted on the rally in Wenceslas Square, Prague] Rallies have taken place in other towns in Czechoslovakia today. Our reporters are now going to report on some of them. First a dispatch by Antonin Bohnal from Usti nad Labem:

[Dohnal] The demonstrators expressed their concern over and disagreement with the composition of the new Federal Government in which the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] has 75-percent representation, thereby again in the position as the leading party of the state. They then demanded the resignation of ministers Jaromir Johanes and Antonin Krumnikl and of the president of the Republic. Additionally, the deomonstrators called for the formation of a new federal government composed of experts, and demanded that during its formation the demands of the Civic Forum be given serious consideration.

The demonstration of citizens and students of Usti nad Labem took place in the regional capital in inclement weather; in smog. No representative of the cmmunists and state bodies spoke at the rally today.

[Announcer] Vaclav Martinik reports now from Hradec Kralove:

[Martinik] Participants in a rally held in Zizkovo Square in Hradec Kralove this afternoon expressed their dissatisfaction with the composition of the new government. Statements by Civic Forums from industrial plants, university students, and other associations called mainly for the new governments resignation by 10 December. In addition, they called for compromised representatives to leave representative bodies, the resignation of the president of the Republic, the adoption of the promised laws on the right of assembly, association, press and others, and proposed the transfer of some buildings serving the CPCZ for community use. In this context a Civic Forum spokesman reported the transfer of the building housing the regional political school to students. The regional CPCZ committee is discussing further proposals. The Civic Forum is to hold a public meeting with the representatives of the national committees and the CPCZ once again in the Winter Stadium in Hradec Kralove on 7 December.

Summary of Bratislava Demonstration

LD0412194889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] There was a rally of students and citizens at the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava this afternoon. Here is a report by Jan Smihula on the atmosphere of the Rally:

[Smihula] Despite the fact that this was an unplanned demonstration and people only just learned about it

today, about 80,000 participants came to the Slovak National Uprising Square in the afternoon. They came with one aim only—to express their disapproval with the composition of the new government. This is also why today's rally differed from the previous ones, not only because it was shorter in duration, only 45 minutes, but above all, by its proceedings. Today there were no songs and no music—only speakers taking their turns on the platform.

At the beginning Milan Knazko acquainted those present with the statement of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence initiative. It stresses that the federal government is not new, that no attempt has been made for greater representation of noncommunist party members, that it is not a government of experts and thus the present composition of the federal government cannot be final.

Other speeches were conducted in this same spirit, for example, that of a worker from the Juraj Dimitrov chemical works in Bratislava, and (?Jaroslav For) from the strike committee of the Public Against Violence from Dolny Kubin.

Jan Budaj, a prominent representative of the mentioned civic initiative, appealed yet again for a dialogue of leading party and state representatives of Slovakia and said that the Public Against Violence would enter the election as a democratic and civic movement.

A representative of the Slovak coordinating committee of high schools said that high school students remain on strike and demand the government's resignation.

At the end of the rally, Milan Knazko read a statement from the Theatre Artists' Association in Slovakia on the internal political situation after the appointment of the federal government. The artist's association disagrees with governments composition and thus Slovak theatre artists have decided to continue their strike both in theatres and mass media until 6 December, inclusive. At the end of today's rally, Milan Knazko said that the next rally would be held on 9 December at 1600 [1500 GMT] here on the Slovak National Uprising Square in Bratislava, on the eve of Human Rights Day.

Kosice, Presov Show Disapproval

LD0412211789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] In Kosice a rally of the town's citizens ended a short time ago. They expressed their disapproval of the newly appointed Federal Government. Jan Ber reports:

[Ber] The center of Kosice is the area in front of the state scientific library. Today it is a well known area where people with similar views meet. It is in the afternoon, just before 1630, and there are quite a few with the same view indeed; students and workers have come here. Representatives of the East Slovak Ironworks spoke, and a letter from actor (Jan Bzduch) was read here. All of them met to express their views on the composition of the new CSSR government. Since this morning I have been able to listen to their individual views on radio or on television. One after another, they have been saying that it is impossible to deceive as people today are no longer blind or deaf. He who wants to deceive the nation will live to hear its common voice and this voice, a voice of many thousands, speaks here now, in the center of Kosice, very seriously and is saying a very strong "No" to the new government.

[Announcer] In Presov, at the town hall, there was a meeting of students from three high schools. Those taking part expressed dissatisfaction with the composition of the new government and with the fact that some demands of the civic initiatives, students, and artists have not been met.

In the afternoon at an extraordinary plenary session of the district committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia the Presidium, headed by the leading secretary in Presov, resigned.

At 1600 a citizens' rally was held in the town square. As Iqor Sabol, our reporter, told us, speakers commented on the nonfulfillment of the students' and civic initiatives' demands.

20-Kilometer Human Chain Formed

LD0312164489 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Students, workers and other citizens of Hradec Kralove and Pardubice today formed a human chain on the road between these two towns in the East Bohemian region. Buses from the towns' transport enterprises and works ferried participants to different places along the 20-kilometer chain. Not even the frosty 10 degree temperature discourage people in their intention to join hands between the two towns, and thus to express in a symbolic way their aspiration for democracy and the hope that they will henceforth have a freer life.

Dailies on Antigovernment Actions

LD0512091589 Prague CTK in English 0738 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—All Czech dailies today carried reports from yesterday's demonstrations whose participants voiced lack of confidence in the new Czechoslovak Government, and reports about the condemnation by representatives of five Warsaw Treaty countries of their forces' intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The communist party daily RUDE PRAVO published a draft action program of the Czechoslovak Communist Party "for democratic and socialist society in Czechoslovakia". Stressing that the new party leadership "is definitely and clearly parting with the mistakes and deformations of the past. With the power and ideological monopoly of the party, it brings under principled criticism the Stalinist concept of socialism and criticizes the policy pursued by the leadership," the daily said.

The youth daily MLADA FRONTA characterized as the main feature of the action program tolerance but at the same time stated: "The party should have come with tolerance, pluralism and dialogue long ago—in harmony with the demands of its rank-and-file members whose voices were being silenced by the helplessness of the bureaucratic encirclement."

The dailies paid considerable attention to interviews with prominent personalities of the 1968 Prague Spring—political scientist Zdenek Mlynar, politician Cestmir Cisar, economist Ota Sik and writer Josef Skvorecky.

All dailies published the first part of a report by the parliamentary commission set up to investigate the police action against students on November 17, 1989. This is also the theme of an interview with representatives of the striking students Martin Mejstrik carried by MLADA FRONTA.

The Slovak daily PRAVDA wrote about yesteday's demonstrations in Prague and Bratislava at which citizens voiced their dissatisfaction with the composition of the new federal government which does not reflect the fact that the Czechoslovak Communist Party has lost its leading role in society.

In another article the daily said that the lessons from the crisis development in the party and society after the 13th communist party congress, that was to veil the unlawful intervention of Warsaw Treaty states in Czechoslovakia in August 1968, has morally deformed Czechoslovakia's social life in all spheres.

'Socialism is not a dead idea' is an article by a member of the Slovak Communist Party Presidium who stresses that the communist party is now obliged both to itself and society to speedily carry out a thorough analysis of the past period of the construction of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The trade union daily PRACA published stands of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence initiatives as well as of individual citizens voicing objections to the new federal government in which the representation of members of non-communist parties and non-party members is not sufficient.

The Slovak youth daily SMENA carried an interview with a scientist from the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and Law about the abolition of the constitutional article on the leading role of the communist party in society, about People's Militias whose role has never been embodied in the constitution, [words indistinct] reveal those responsible for the crisis and its causes and do not take such measures that would be trusted by communists and other citizens. The crisis in the party and society could tragically deepen", the Slovak paper emphasized.

Havel Interviewed

AU0512080289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Dec 89 p 4

[Interview with Vaclav Havel, playwright and Civic Forum representative, by Jan Lipavsky in Prague on 30 November: "Some Questions For Vaclav Havel"]

[Text] A useful dialogue requires that the partners have a mutual knowledge of each other. In the case of the playwright Vaclav Havel, one of the representatives of the Civic Forum, many things have been published in RUDE PRAVO, but he himself has not been given a chance to speak. The following interview, given to RUDE PRAVO this week, is intended to rectify this inconsistency. V. Havel was born in Prague on 5 October 1936. He is a graduate of the Academy of Arts' Theatrical Faculty and the author of a number of plays. He was one of the first Charter 77 spokesmen and has been imprisoned several times.

[Lipavsky] I turned to you with a request to give an interview to RUDE PRAVO. As I can see, you are not against this, although—I think—there is certainly no love lost between you and my party's Central Committee newspaper.

[Havel] RUDE PRAVO has not written many favorable things about me. But now is not the time for recriminations about the past; now we have to think about the future. I welcome the fact that RUDE PRAVO has asked me for an interview because through it I would like to say something to communist party members.

[Lipavsky] Fine, but first of all, tell me what kind of image RUDE PRAVO has created about you—unrealistic, untruthful?

[Havel] As far as the image which RUDE PRAVO has created about me is concerned, it is, I would say, an exaggerated black chronicle [Black Chronicle is the rubric where crime statistics are reported]. However, people who know me and my work, people who are not biased, must be the ones to say what kind of real image I have.

[Lipavsky] What do you think: Is it possible for an open dialogue to be conducted in this country between people of diverse political opinions, that is, between people like you, people who patently do not want to have anything to do with Marx, and people like me, a communist? In general, are you a social democrat by conviction or an anti-communist without a more clear-cut ideological orientation?

[Havel] I do not acknowledge any ideology, doctrine, or weltanschauung that has been pre-prepared and drafted by someone else. It does not even seem to me that I could belong to this or that specifically outlined and ideologically self-defined political movement. I am simply on the side of truth against lies, on the side of sense against nonsense, on the side of justice against injustice, and on the side of order against disorder.

[Lipavsky] But you acknowledge—and you also elucidate this in your program—a pluralist democracy, that is, a coalition system of government. You have a specific and defined ideological and political point of view, but do you know what amazed me and what took me by surprise in your negotiations with the premier? The way, forgive me, you asserted the fulfillment of your demands. In my opinion, this was far from a dialogue of equals. Do you not think that you somewhat threw ethics overboard?

[Havel] Although we negotiated in the manner in which we did, we were doing this in our people's interests. Several times we said to the premier that we have many reasons for thinking that at this moment we are conveying the demands of a broad sector of the public or of the majority of the public. We also said to him several times that it is in the interest of all of us that our country's problems do not grow into an uncontrolled strike movement, bloodletting, confusion, and confrontation. If we are to organize our society in a democratic, decent, and compassionate manner and if we are to forestall eventual conflicts, then, it is necessary that the government negotiates quickly and does not just merely announce certain things but, in effect, carries them out. Any kind of holding back or restraint would not only turn against us—that is, in this case, against the Civic Forum—but it would also turn against the government and the whole of society. This would mean that all of us have not come to terms with the situation.

[Lipavsky] Are you not excluding the compassionate method, as you put it?

[Havel] That is my life-long program.

[Lipavsky] Time will tell whether it turns out this way or otherwise. Tell me, what exactly is the Civic Forum? You said something on this subject during your television appearance on Sunday [26 November], but it did not completely satisfy me personally. Are you not passing yourselves off as something different than what you really are? That is, in no way are you a voluntary affiliation of citizens and a self-styled structure of society, but rather—and it seems to me—you are an embryonic cell of a political party, a party with a still undefined ideological character?

[Havel] I, personally, and not only myself but everyone here in the Magic Lantern theater where we have our headquarters, agree that the Civic Forum is indeed a forum. Originally, forum means a square where anyone who wants to can come and say what he wants. So that everyone does not speak at once—and, thus, no one is heard—it must, of course, be coordinated by someone. What we are doing here is an improvised and dramatic attempt to somehow coordinate the people's movement and the social ferment that reflect a loss of confidence in all existing structures and social organizations.

[Lipavsky] Some readers may object that they see in you a self-styled spokesman.

[Havel] If this were the case, people would not have acknowledged us so much. Without the Civic Forum and its coordinating center, a dangerous situation would arise for the whole of society because there would be a threat of various confrontations and conflicts. Civic Forum also means the ability to form some kind of united action in crisis situations....

[Lipavsky] United strike action....

[Havel] The state of strike alert does not only mean a readiness for further protest strikes but also means a kind of new self-structuring in society. The strike committees are interlinked, some of them support the Civic Forum and some of them have become independent civic forums. Everything is linked by information and communications channels, but nothing is centrally controlled.

[Lipavsky] I am not absolutely certain that you are not a center, but let's leave it at that. And, if I understand you correctly, your movement has a specific time dimension; it has a time limit.

[Havel] The Civic Forum should only continue as long as necessary. Its aim and ideal is real plurality. It should not exist so long that, in the end, it becomes a brake on plurality. I will put it this way: We are bridging society from the totalitarian method of government to real democracy. Independent political units and social entities—units and entities which are mutually independent of each other and which will then found the real democratic plurality that we desire—should come into existence very quickly.

[Lipavsky] The Civic Forum is to become, then, the instrument of this plurality?

[Havel] It is not intended to become a second National Front; we do not want to position one giant against another. We do not want to close the door on plurality, but, on the contrary, we want to open it wide.

[Lipavsky] Let us go on. Do you know what strikes me? The fact that in public life at various meetings and assemblies, including—if not first and foremost—the gathering on Letna Plain, we hear only a monologue. I say to myself—one monologue has been replaced with another. Or do my ears deceive me? Are you not afraid that in time history could repeat itself?

[Havel] I do not have this impression. At this moment, while we are speaking here, representatives of the Civic Forum are holding talks in the Oriental Salon of Obecni Dum with a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium as well as with other Central Committee members. The Civic Forum does not want to exclude anyone from public life and, of course, it is counting on all communists. I think there are 1,700,000 Communists.

[Lipavsky] What is your attitude toward communists and toward CPCZ members?

[Havel] Among them there are certainly numerous clever, gifted, and productive people who for decades have had to keep silent just as all noncommunists have had to keep silent.

[Lipavsky] Excuse me for interrupting, but they did not have to keep silent. That was a question of their courage.

[Havel] Perhaps, they did not have to, but if they spoke up this caused difficulties for them or they were not listened to. I think that our fellow citizens and party members, just like the whole of society, feel a sense of relief today because they see a chance to be heard. This is very important for our society. It seems to me that the task for communists is to renew their party as quickly as possible so that it becomes a modern party, a party that has given up the totalitarian method of government and has entered into a future pluralist and democratic system just like every other political force. The whole of this revolt—if we can put it so dramatically—which we are experiencing at the moment and which is symbolized by the Civic Form, is not a revolt against communists but against the totalitarian method of government.

[Lipavsky] What kind of person are you? Are you tolerant of views different from your own or related views? Tell me, do you allow for a truth different from your own?

[Havel] If during the past 20 years my books could have been published in our country, the public would know who I am. They would know that I am tolerant and what kind of world I want. At the moment, there is no time for me to explain this.

[Lipavsky] Why does the word socialism not appear in your program?

[Havel] Because in the context of the language in Czechoslovakia, this word has lost all meaning. We simply do not know what it means. First of all, this word should be redefined; it has become just a saying. Everything that the ruling group did not like, everything that did not suit it, and everything that was carried out in a free manner—it labelled antisocialist. It identified itself with socialism.

[Lipavsky] Are you excluding its existence?

[Havel] Our ideas about the future, ideas about a socially just and democratic arrangement in society, do not have to be estranged from the ideas of those who today declare themselves to be socialists. I professed myself to be a socialist 14 or 15 years ago, but then I stopped using this word simply because it has become invalidated. Perhaps, it would be just the task for socialists to give this word new contents and return it to our language.

[Lipavsky] Nevertheless, what do you think: Is our social system to continue to be a socialist one or not?

[Havel] I cannot reply to this because I do not know what it means or what you mean. I can only tell you how I see it. Judge for yourself whether you will call it socialist or not. In my opinion, first and foremost, we should be decent and considerate to each other, we should be conscientious, we should begin to conduct ourselves in a free manner, and we should think about others and not only about ourselves. It is necessary to think about general things.

[Lipavsky] Excuse me, but these are moral and ethical categories which are valid for practically all social systems.

[Havel] With your permission, I will finish what I was saying. At the very beginning, there is a kind of human adjustment and, then, a civic consciousness grows from this. Society begins to structure itself in a civic manner. It establishes clubs, organisms, self-governing units, and so on, in which its authentic will is expressed. On this basis, ultimately, a political life and a political system evolve.

[Lipavsky] How do you envisage this system?

[Havel] As a democratic and pluralist system in the political and economic spheres. Practice has confirmed that a guarantee of economic prosperity is the economic entities' autonomy, that is, their plurality, something which is not thinkable without political plurality.

[Lipavsky] Is ownership not the decisive thing?

[Havel] I think not. Ownership can be state, collective, joint stock, or autonomous; undoubtedly, the private sector must also be given some scope (mainly, in the services and light industry spheres). In my opinion, from the point of view of economic prosperity, there is not at this moment a decisive type of ownership; but there is the prosperity of the enterprise and, with it, the prosperity of the whole country. A prospering economy, I would say, can then guarantee all kinds of social services. There is, for example, the Swedish model as well as others that have proven themselves. They provide their citizens with considerably better social guarantees—which you are, obviously, concerned about in this question—than the system to date in our country. Only prosperity can guarantee social certainties.

[Lipavsky] Nevertheless, we could, obviously, argue about the topic of just distribution as one of the fundamental attributes of our social system, but this is not the subject of our interview. Permit me, then, to ask a final question; it will be a little hypothetical. Obviously, at the end of such an interview and in light of your position on the political scene, every reporter would ask: Are you prepared to accept a state post, of course, if you put yourself forward for one and if you were elected?

[Havel] Everything I do, I do as a citizen of this country who is not indifferent to its fate. I am a writer by profession and I would gladly remain a writer. I have never had political ambitions; I do not feel myself qualified for this. I would like to return to the theater. I firmly believe and hope that this will not be necessary

and that the general interest, which I always place above my own, will not force me into anything of the kind that you scare me with.

[Lipavsky] Thank you for the interview.

Civic Forum on Meeting With Government

LD0412225189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Representatives of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence citizen's initiative held a working meeting today with Federal Government officials to prepare for talks with Premier Ladislav Adamec on his return from Moscow.

Civic Forum representatives then gave a news conference to report on the meeting. Together with student representatives, they voiced the view that the degree of representation held by the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] in the Federal Government is inconsistent with the way in which the political forces in Czechoslovakia are currently arrayed.

The Civic Forum and Public Against Violence declared that they have no confidence in the Federal Government. They also asked that a government and citizens commission be set up to investigate the responsibility of individual people for August 1968. They also pointed out the problem of Czechoslovak emigres, the rehabilitation of citizens persecuted after 1968, and that the adoption of legislation on freedom of assembly and association has to be handled.

They stressed that they will continue to insist that the People's Militia, and primary CPCZ organizations at workplaces be disbanded.

The Civic Forum representatives also reported on their talks today with leading figures of the Czech Government, in which Vaclav Havel also participated. It can be expected, they said, that the Czech Government will not have such a strong CPCZ representation as the Federal Government.

Civic Forum also had talks with the Czech National Front Central Committee. Its representatives said they encountered an attitude totally lacking in concept, because the National Front representatives came to the meeting unprepared and brought no proposals to put on the table.

Italian CP Delegation Visits Civic Forum

AU2911193789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)—On Monday [27 November] at the news conference of the Civic Forum, it was announced to journalists, among other things, that a delegation of the Italian Communist Party paid a visit to the Civic Forum on Monday. Vaclav Havel informed the delegation that the Civic Forum is not an anticommunist organization.

Journalists Association Supports Civic Forum

LD0412214289 Prague CTK in English 2055 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 4 (CTK)—The Independent Association of Journalists calls on the public not to let themselves be misled by cosmetic changes in the power structures which are to hide attempts to preserve the present status quo of conservative forces in the state.

The association therefore supports the stand of the Civic Forum on the newly formed federal government and if necessary it will support a general strike on December 11, 1989.

On November 29, the Independent Association of Journalists approved the following statement:

1. We are for the establishment of a united professional association of journalists which would have the form of a syndicate.

2. A syndicate should be an umbrella non-political organization defending professional interests of all journalists.

3. All journalists regardless of affiliation to any other organization, including a political one, should have the right to become members of the syndicate.

4. The syndicate should protect journalists legally and socially, monitor and guarantee the preservation of the journalists ethic which we understand as a possibility to truthfully and objectively inform the public.

5. The syndicate should at the same time fulfil the function of an independent journalist trade union organization.

6. The syndicate should be an organization of members who will have equal conditions and therefore should be united. We all agreed that strength is in unity and need not perhaps stress that this does not mean unity of views. In our opinion, only such an organization can create a perfect information centre at the highest technical level which would be at the disposal of all members.

Church Leaders Support Students' Demands

LD2711225389 Prague CTK in English 2121 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 27 (CTK)—The committee of church and religious officials associating representatives of all churches and religous societies of Czechoslovakia met in Brno, south Moravia, today.

The committee concentrated on the internal political development in the country. Synod senior of the Czech

Brethren Evangelical Church and chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Churches Josef Hromadka told Czechoslovak television that the majority of all church representatives have expressed support for the demands of students, actors and workers formulated by the Civic Forum on November 25, 1989. They voiced support for such a government which would fulfil the will of the nation.

Director of the Secretariat of the Czechoslovak Government for Ecclesiastical Affairs Vladimir Janku said that the main principle of new church laws, which are being prepared, is complete equality of the believers and the prevention of any form of discrimination. The laws are to abolish the institution of the state control over the churches, he said.

In connection with the events of the past week the participants stressed that the draft constitution does not correspond with the current internal political situation.

RUDE PRAVO Staff Defends Socialism

LD2411145989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] At an opening meeting of their primary Czechoslovak Communist Party organization the editors and other members of RUDE PRAVO's staff adopted a statement in which they stressed they fully stand behind the role of socialism and will consistently defend it.

At the same time they reject all efforts to increase tension in our society, especially calls for a general strike.

We are convinced it is possible to create such conditions that the current problems are not to be tackled at the expense of our national economy and at all the citizens's expense.

Investigation of 'Brutal Intervention' Demanded

AU2211151089 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 20 Nov 89 p 2

["(MF)"-signed report: "Our View"]

[Text] There are among us eye witnesses to the intervention made by security forces on Friday [17 November] on Prague's National Avenue. We have at our disposal the testimony of people who were wounded during this intervention. As long as such an intervention is in harmony with the law, it is necessary to change the law because such a law, in our opinion, is not in harmony with generally recognized moral principles. However, it is difficult to believe that the law enables security forces, first of all, to make it impossible for demonstrators to depart—those who did not hear appeals to disperse before a specific deadline—and, instead of making use of adequate measures to clear the area and restore order, to punish the participants by beating them. Our legal code permits punishment to be handed down for illegal conduct. However, only a court can hand down punishment and only in a manner set out in the legal norms and in no other way.

However, if the interventions made by the order enforcement units were justified, they cannot resolve the substance of contemporary social problems. The spokesman for the Federal Government also spoke about this at a news conference after the 28 October events. We were, and we still are, convinced that his words will be fulfilled. Therefore, we cannot agree with the approach of those who again made the decision to use force. Similarly, we cannot agree with those who intentionally spread provocative reports.

Therefore, we demand a thorough investigation into the brutal intervention against the demonstrators and we demand that a political dialogue on all our country's problems be finally initiated.

Therefore, we fully support Friday's [17 November] statement issued by the Czech Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] and the joint statement issued by the SSM Prague City Committee Presidium and the SSM Prague City College Council Presidium.

We support the speech delivered by Frantisek Pitra, Czech Socialist Republic premier, on Czechoslovak Television yesterday, a speech that called for prudence and responsibility.

Police Brutality Cited

LD0412230189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] The joint commission of the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council, set up to scrutinize the investigation of the events of 17 November in Prague, met in Prague today for the 4th day in a row. It issued a communique on the commission's work to date, which Dr. Lubomir Fanta, a Chamber of the People's deputy and the commissions's spokesman, conveyed to correspondents.

[Begin Fanta recording] The parliamentary commission up to now reached the following main conclusions:

First: The general political situation.

The basic political cause of the 17 November events was the ever increasing gulf between the policy of the Czechslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] leadership and the needs of society. Conflict between words and deeds, political reforms lagging behind economic reforms, the impeded progress toward society's democratization, the creation of the monopoly of views by the CPCZ leadership on what is and what is not socialist, the disproportionate reaction to the processes of restructuring and democratization in the adjacent states, the unwillingness to reassess the events of 1968 and 1969 in light of new conditions, the underestimation of the emerging informal structures described at that time as illegal all

generated tension in society, which was manifested particularly in the capital by open dissatisfaction, particularly among young people, students, and artists.

Public acts by these groups were suppressed more and more frequently and brutally by means of power. The willingness and ability to enter in a political dialogue was absent. This is why every opportunity for a public rally was used to voice dissatisfaction with this political state.

Gradually, the political means were replaced by the suppression of the manifestation of dissatisfaction by means of power, which assumed, especially in 1989, the character of was of intimidation rather than restoration of public order. In view of the fact that the issue was always serious political consequences, in the system of the strong concentration of power, the preparation of measures of this kind was initiated by highly placed political officials. Marked legal stagnation, which did not allow an adequate reaction to all the changes in the sphere of social and political climate, also contributed to this political situation.

Second: The examination of results of the investigation of the Czech Socialist Republic General Prosecutor's office:

The parliamentary commission reexamined the results of the investigation of the Czech Socialist Republic General Prosecutor's Office and concluded that its conclusions are in harmony with the results so far of the commission's investigation. From the result of the investigation carried out by the Czech General Prosecutor's Office and according to further investigations and knowledge gained by the parliamentary commision, the following additional facts emerged:

The intervention of riot troops of the National Security Corps took place under the conditions of paragraph 4, letter I, possibly paragraph 40 of the law on the National Security Corps number 40/74, whereby the National Security Corps arrived at a conclusion that the unannounced march disturbed public order, prevented the normal use of public roads, and hampered the smooth flow of traffic. For the intervention, a total of 629 members of the National Security Corps administration in Prague and 940 members of the Czech Socialist Republic Public Security mobile regiment were designated. In the course of the intervention, members of the National Security Corps used truncheons and defensives methods of restraint, also, however, kicks and punches. The mentioned means, however, were also used after participants in the demonstration were dragged away, when National Security Corps units trapped them, to beat them up; there were no previous attacks on members of the National Security Corps nor the need to overcome physical resistance of persons being brought in. After the demonstrators were enclosed and pushed together, members of the National Security Corps created corridors to which they drove participants in the demonstration and where they beat them up without reason.

Physical attacks on citizens by members of the National Security Corps continued without justification, even after the demonstration and Nardodni Street was cleared. The groundless physical torture of participants in the demonstration is confirmed in principle by all citizens who gave explanations to the Prosecutor's Office on the intervention. The given explanations can be assessed as objective, without negative attitudes toward security organs, because the same citizens also confirmed a different and humane attitude of National Security Corps members at individual local Public Security departments where some of them were gradually taken by riot units.

By the method of intervention of the riot units of the National Security Corps, paragraph 33, section 2 of the law on the National Security Corps was violated, because the action was obviously out of proportion to the importance of the interest thus protected and the preservation of public order. Thus the method of carrying out the intervention can be evaluated as disproportionate and harsh. Taking into account the proceedings of the intervention and the type of injuries, inadmissible and excessive violence can be concluded, which in specific cases gives a justified suspicion of the criminal offences of causing bodily harm, possibly abuse of powers of public official committed by persons who come under the jurisdiction of military courts.

Third: The humanitarian aspects and repercussions of the intervention:

The commission also assessed the events on Narodni Street from the point of view of the basic human rights enshrined in international agreements. It emerged from the inquiry's findings so far that not only were these rights violated, but the lives of the participants also were directly jeopardized.

Among the security forces, there have been eight cases of injuries registered so far. One member of the National Security Corps was forced up against a solid obstacle by the crowd and suffered bruising of the stomach. Another had his finger bruised. The injuries of the remaining six were not specified; according to the report from representatives of the Military Prosecutor's Department, they were minor injuries.

Accoding to the standpoint and other written materials from the Federal Ministry of the Interior and to the report from the Prague City and Central Bohemian Regional National Security Corps, when the marchers reached Narodni Street, they behaved aggressively and physically attacked members of the National Security Corps. From the testimony of injured members of the National Security Corps, it emerged that some of them were thought to have sustained minor injuries on Narodni Street after being atacked by individual demonstrators. According to findings as of 4 December 1989, however, the relevant investigator of the Prosecutor's

Department has not received any factual or local notification of a crime of attacking a public official committed on 17 November 1989 on Narodni Street.

The injuries to demonstrators were more serious: bruising, cuts, fractured vertebrae, broken shoulder blades, spinal injuries, internal hemorrhages, bruising to the crotch, and others.

In addition, the current figure of 44 injured cannot be considered final. Many citizens, fearful of retribution, sought treatment at hospitals outside Prague or gave other reasons for their injuries. The commission, therefore, called on all thsoe who have not yet reported their injuries to do so at the Czech Ministry of health and Social Affairs.

Also very serious was the mental and emotional distress caused to the demonstrators, the extent of which is difficult to estimate. What is beyond any doubt, however, is that the fear of further policy brutality was one of the decisive reasons for the students' strike and subsequent protest actions.

Four: The examination of the activity of the military section of the Prosecutor's Office:

From the materials accumulated so far during the investigation and from the knowledge gained by the parliamentary commission, some serious findings emerged which show the unclear character of the fundamental differences between the given stands of some political organs and functionaries of the Federal Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Interior and Environment of the Czech Socialist Republic, that is, not to intervene beyond the framework of measures preventing access to demonstrators to the area of Prague Castle, possibly the Wenceslas Square, and by the actual intervention in Narodni Street.

This knowledge shows that in the very organization of security measures, not all units were given the same orders, and thus it was impossible to ensure consistent command and execution of a commander's powers.

A special purpose unit, set up for entirely different purposes, took part in the intervention without any obvious reasons that would justify the deployment of this special unit. Further investigation will have to deal with this fact with a maximum responsibility and also taking into account the fact that there is not a tape recording of contents available on the radio communication between the commanding staff and the intervening units.

The commission convinced itself with and appreciates the fact that organs of the military section of the Prosecutor's Office are intensifying the investigation focused on all the important moments in the intervention on 17 November 1989 which must be explained not only from the point of view of definition of criminal responsibility of individuals but which can also contribute to the explanation of political responsibility. A consistent explanation of the 17 November 1989 events and the implementation of both political and legal responsibility toward specific culprits of unlawful action is, in the opinion of the parliamentary commission, the only way to renew the public's trust in the National Security Corps and one of the forms of the inlaid guarantees of the functioning of a legal state.

The parliamentary commission intensively continues in its work. The first comprehensive report of the joint commission of the chambers of the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council for the scrutiny of the investigation of the 17 November, 1989 events, which has been approved at its 4 December, 1989 session, will be submitted for discussion at the next joint session of chambers of the Federal Assembly. [end recording]

We have acquainted you with the main parts of the communique issued by the joint commission of the Federal Assembly and the Czech National Council set up to scrutinize the investigation of events on 17 November in Prague.

LIDOVE NOVINY To Be Published Daily

LD0512102189 Prague CTK in English 0934 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—The monthly "LIDOVE NOVINY" (PEOPLE'S PAPER), issued clandestinely in the Samizdat system in Czechoslovakia in the past two years, will start to be published as a daily in the first quarter of 1990, chief editor of the PEOPLE'S PAPER Jiri Ruml has told CTK.

He added that the paper will be published by the Civic Forum and that it will be independent also in the future.

The paper now deals with the internal and foreign policies, economy, culture and other aspects of public life. Authors of articles in the paper are prominent publicists, economists and scientists whose works were not allowed for publication in Czechoslovakia in the past 20 years. They are e.g. Vaclav Havel, Jiri Dienstbier, Ladislav Hejdanek, Milan Uhde as well as journalists Jiri Ruml and Rudolf Zeman who had been arrested for the printing of the PEOPLE'S PAPER from October 13 to November 25, 1989 when they were released under the pressure of the Czechoslovak and foreign public.

Jiri Ruml said that journalists from the official mass media also started to publish their articles in the paper using pen-names. In almost two years (since 1987) of the existence of the paper prominent figures of the Czechoslovak and foreign public. E.g., U.S. presidential candidates George Bush and Michael Dukakis, Soviet scientist Andrey Sakharov, English dramatist Harold Pinter, have granted interviews to it.

The PEOPLE'S PAPER has a long-standing tradition in Czechoslovakia. First published in 1891, it was very popular mainly with the intelligentsia after World War I. At that time prominent Czech writer and dramatist

Karel Capek cooperated with the paper together with his brother Josef Capek, painter and writer. Also Czechoslovakia's first president Tomas Garrigue Masaryk wrote some articles for the paper. Its publication was halted in Czechoslovakia in 1952. The weekly of the Union of Czech Writers "LITERARNI NOVINY" (LITERARY PAPER) followed up its tradition and had been issued from 1952 till 1968.

Further Controversy Over Events of 1968

Reevaluation Suggested

AU0512084889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Dec 89 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Report of CPCZ Central Committee Presidium Session"]

[Text] Prague—At its session on 30 November 1989, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium discussed the upcoming CSSR National Front Central Committee Presidium session to be convened Sunday 3 December 1989. The need for this session arises from the current complicated political situation in our country and from the need to seek starting points for the renewal of socialism in our homeland on the platform of a revitalized National Front. The Presidium members expressed their conviction that the representatives of the political parties and the social and special interest organizations, along with the CPCZ, will express their points of view in an open discussion on National Front activity in an attempt to find starting points for developing its further work in light of current needs.

While discussing a variant draft of the CSSR Constitution, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium concurred that the submitted draft follows up on our country's constitutional traditions, on the results of Czechoslovakia's historical development, and on the global values of a democratic and progressive culture. It set Communists in the commission for preparing the new Constitution the task of implementing suggestions from the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's proceedings when drawing up the draft of the CSSR Constitution.

The Presidium extensively discussed the current situation in the country. It appealed, first and foremost, to Communists in managerial posts to guarantee under all circumstances a problem-free course of operation in all the sectors entrusted to them, in particular in the national economy, and it also appealed to them to set an example in their work, in dealing with people, in modesty, and in honesty. It called upon all Communists to immediately and without prejudice commence and actively conduct a dialogue with all those willing to participate.

While discussing topical political tasks—and on the basis of a policy statement made by Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the nationwide party aktiv held in Prague on 28 November—the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium raised the need for a critical reevaluation of the events of 1968, including the circumstances that led to the arrival on CSSR territory of troops from five socialist states; it recommended that a working group be established to carry out this task.

USSR Government Statement

LD0412213989 Prague CTK in English 2047 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Moscow Dec 4 (CTK)—The USSR shares the view of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the Government of Czechoslovakia that the entry of armies of five socialist countries into Czechoslovakia in 1968 was groundless and from the point of view of all facts now known the decision about it was erroneous, said a statement adopted by the Soviet Government today.

In 1968 the then Soviet leadership assumed a one-sided stand in the international dispute concerning problems Czechoslovakia was then facing. This unbalanced, inappropriate approach and interference in the affairs of a friendly country was then explained as being due to sharp East-West confrontation, the statement said.

It noted that Czechoslovakia is now critically reassessing experiences from its political and economic development, and added that the necessity of socialist reconstruction and of a realistic evaluation of events has, unfortunately, not always been taken for granted, particularly in situations when these events required courageous reaction to the demands of time.

Civic Forum Stance

LD0412183689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 4 Dec 89

["Stance of Civic Forum on August 1968"; read by Ladislav Lis at an opposition rally in Wenceslas Square, Prague—live]

[Text] After 21 years the Communist Party has told us that the treacherous attack on our country by the overwhelming superiority of forces, their own allies, in August 1968 was a violation of the norms of international law, a mistake, and a political error. [crowd boos and chants: "It was a betrayal"] Not a single word has, however, been said about the fact that for the last 20 years the Czechoslovak Communist Party was described this unprecedented act as an act of internationalist solidarity and assistance to our people. [crowd boos and whistles] Not a single word has been said about the fact that the result of the military invasion was not only a moral devastation of our society but also a mass discrimination of all of those who had to leave their workplaces and workshops only because they were unwilling to approve this national humiliation. [crowd boos]

This is why we accept as an act that is less then sufficient the government's decision to set about to revise the treaty on the stationing of Soviet troops on our territory

and the proposal to set up a commission of historians from six states to examine the event of that time. In the interest of truth we must however demand that this commission is formed on the Czechoslovak side not only of historians from the official structures but that precisely those historians should be represented in it who have been dealing with this matter for the past 20 years but who have been driven from public life. [shouts of derision]

This, of course, is not all. We are waiting for the names of those on the Czechoslovak side who inspired this shameful act of occupation to be published at last. [shouts of derision and chants of "Who are they?"] Their personal guilt will have to be investigated and qualified legally, politically and morally. The citizens of our state have an inalienable right to the investigation of their guilt. Thank you. [applause and chants of "Punish them!"]

Station Editorial on Future of Warsaw Pact

LD1811030189 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Speculations about the future of the Warsaw Treaty alliance are discussed in Radio Prague's editorial.

The European socialist states are living through a period of sweeping changes which, until recently, had been thought impossible. Due to different conditions in individual states, the changes are taking place at different speeds and in a different way, but in all countries they affect both the economy and policy.

In some countries, political pluralism has been created which in Poland, for instance, has resulted in the fact that the until recently ruling Communist Party has lost its majority in the Government. Some circles in the West interpret these phenomena as a foreshadowing of the end of the Warsaw Treaty. They claim that this military political grouping will disintegrate in the near future, because some member countries are reassessing some values which, in the past, were the basis of the alliance. But the reality is different. Despite the current internal changes. All Warsaw Treaty countries stress the need for adhering to the alliance's commitments.

This political and military alliance is evidently also undergoing changes. The independence of the member countries is being increased, and international political dialogue is being considered as vital for accelerating the process which would eliminate confrontation, develop East-West cooperation, and create a common system of collective security in Europe, in which there will be no place either for the Warsaw Treaty or NATO.

To testify to this effort, the Warsaw Treaty has submitted a proposal to disband both groupings. As long as this is not the fact, the Warsaw Treaty will be an effective common instrument for reaching this status, a status in which not only the Warsaw Treaty countries, but also all Europeans are vitally interested.

Papers Comment on Gorbachev-Bush Talks

LD0512100889 Prague CTK in English 0853 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Prague Dec 5 (CTK)—Aboard a Soviet ship Maksim Gorkiy the first step was taken toward a new era in the post-war arrangement of the world. A new stage seems to be opening not only in U.S.-Soviet relations but also in the impact of these relations, MLADA FRONTA said today. The daily said that from now on the two superpowers seem to be no longer able to divide the world into spheres of influence, that they will have to take into account the European point of view too, i.e. of the continent where swift changes are taking place.

Much has been expected from the summit and it can be stated that the Malta summit has met the expectations, communist daily RUDE PRAVO wrote. It stressed that the talks "helped make clear or confirm the standpoints and in spite of differences on concrete issues made possible an agreement on the obvious reality - that the confrontation is outdated outdated, [as received] that the USSR and the U.S.A. share common responsiblity not only for their own destinies, that they are will aware of this and ready to act accordingly". The paper pointed out that in the opinion of both sides a beginning of a new, favorable era in mutual relations has been opened and a fundament for a broad mutual understanding has been laid down. This could facilitate progress in solving topical world problems. Equally important is that both sides assess highly the impact which the restructuring in the USSR and speedy processes in Eastern Europe have had on this development.

The socialist party daily SVOBODNE SLOVO emphasised President Bush's evolution of views. After the initial distrust of the changes in the Soviet Union he has now arrived now at a conviction that these changes in the USSR are real, significant and positive, and that it is in the interest of the U.S. to render support for such a policy. "But it is not only the standpoint of the White House chief what is undergoing a sweeping change. Suitable background to an informal meeting was offered by the stormy processes in Eastern Europe where now the leading part is played by Czechoslovakia, alongside with a search for new ways to democracy in other socialist countries", concluded SVOBODNE SLOVO.

The Slovak daily PRAVDA wrote that the Bush-Gorbachev summit has rendered a mighty impulse to the disarmament process. This is an asset worth making use of." [quotation marks as received]

Work on Rerouting Danube Starts 15 Nov

AU2011113389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 89 p 2

["gc"-signed report: "Gabcikovo Hydroproject: Preparations for Substitute Solution"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava (from our correspondent)—On Tuesday [14 November] the workforce of the Hydraulic

Engineering Works Bratislava state enterprise completed, near Hamuliakovo, downstream from Bratislava, the demarcation of the building site for the new temporary substitute solution for supplying the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station with Danube water. On Wednesday [15 November], organizations involved in the project were thus able to start preparatory work for a speedy construction of new installations, with which the original design for the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydroelectric power stations on the Danube did not count.

As is generally known, Czechoslovakia had to resort to a substitute solution for putting the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power station into operation because of Hungary's decision to stop work at the Nagymaros section and not to dam the Danube river bed at Dunakiliti, whereby it unilaterally violated the valid interstate agreement on the joint Czechoslovak-Hungarian construction of this Danube project.

Although this is a substitute solution, its designers and builders will do everything conceivable to ensure that ecological aspects are respected to the maximum extent in the course of construction. [passage omitted]

Hungary Warns Against Plan

AU2011113589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 89 p 7

[CTK Budapest dispatch: "Hungary Is Completing the Modification of Agreement"]

[Text] Budapest (CTK)—The MTI agency announced that the Hungarian Ministry of Justice is drawing up a detailed proposal for a modification of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement on the construction of the Danube dam project. In this context the Hungarian side presented a note to the CSSR ambassador to Hungary in early November.

In an interview for the Hungarian paper MAI NAP published on Wednesday [15 November], Tamas Ban, the responsible official of the Hungarian Ministry of Justice, expressed the hope that the Czechoslovak side would "assess the new situation realistically and would seize the opportunity to open talks on this issue." He stressed that delaying these talks would not be in the interest of either side.

The Hungarian expert warned that, should the Czechoslovak side refuse to negotiate and start work on rerouting the Danube, a number of new problems will arise. Such an approach to the issue would supposedly affect the border between the two states. According to T. Ban, it cannot be ruled out that in this case Hungary would appeal to members of the Trianon Treaty and to the powers guaranteeing the Paris Peace Treaty [which fixed the current Czechoslovak-Hungarian border].

Anti-Romanian Gathering Reported in Prague

AU1911144389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Nov 89 p 2

["(SID)"-signed report: "Not Everything Concerned Stromovka"]

[Text] Prague (from our own correspondent)—On Wednesday [15 November] afternoon, discussions took place between representatives from Prague's National Committee and activists from the nature conservationists movement on resolving problems associated with the planned construction of a road between Spejchar and Argentinska, part of which should go through Prague's Stromovka Park. It was agreed that a public meeting will be held on 24 November in the hall in the Julius Fucik Park of Culture and Recreation and also in the Svornost Cinema. These meetings will be held to discuss methods for dealing with this important investment.

During this time, approximately 800-1,000 people had gathered outside the National Committee building. The majority of them left the scene after being informed about the planned public meetings. That not all of them came along out of concern for the environment in Prague was borne out by the fact that approximately 100 persons then went off in the direction of the Romanian Embassy where a smaller group of people shouted various slogans for about half an hour. After appeals were made by staff from the municipal district committee in Prague-1 and by members of the police force, the gathering was dispersed.

Husak Congratulates Bulgaria's Mladenov

AU2111094789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Nov 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Bulgaria"]

[Text] Prague—Gustav Husak, CSSR president, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Petur Mladenov, the newly elected chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria State Council. In the telegram he expresses his conviction that the traditional ties of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between the peoples of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria will continue to develop and intensify in harmony with the Agreement on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance signed between the CSSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the interest of strengthening peace, security, and socialism.

Urbanek Greets SFRY's Pancevski on Anniversary

AU3011151789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Nov 89 p 1

["z" signed report]

[Text] Prague —Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, has sent to Milan Pancevski, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], a telegram on the occasion of the SFRY National Day:

Esteemed Comrade Pancevski; on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee and on my own behalf I am sending you, the Central Committee and the members of the LCY, and to all working people of the befriended SFRY cordial comradely greetings and sincere wishes of new successes on the occasion of the National Day of your fatherland—the Day of the Republic. The fulfillment of the legacy of 29 November will make it possible for the nations of Yugoslavia to demonstrate the further potential and advantages of the socialist system, the choice of which they made jointly on that historical day.

On this occasion I also want to express the conviction that we will intensify the permanent upsurge and the deepening of the comprehensive cooperation between the CPCZ and the LCY on the basis of more profoundly understanding the past and the new objectives in the spirit of the best traditions and friendly ties which exist between the nations of our countries, in the interest of the CSSR and the SFRY, of socialism, peace, and progress in the world.

Vatican Talks End; Communique Issued

AU2211135389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Nov 89 p 6

[Text] Rome (CTK Correspondent)—A communique was issued at the conclusion of the talks of the Czechoslovak Government delegation in the Vatican, which states:

The delegation of the Vatican headed by Archbishop Francisco Colasuonno, papal nuntio with special mission, on 14-16 November held talks with a delegation of the CSSR Government headed by Vladimir Janku, deputy minister-director of the CSSR Government's Church Affairs Secretariat. The members of the Czechoslovak delegation also attended the canonization of Holy Anezka Premyslovna last Sunday [19 November].

The talks, which were held in a frank and cordial atmosphere, concerned issues of the life of the Catholic Church in the CSSR, particularly the appointments of some bishops.

The results of the talks will be submitted to the relevant superior bodies for further assessment.

Urbanek, Husak Congratulate 'Arafat

AU3011152389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Nov 89 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Karel Urbanek, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, and CSSR President Gustav Husak, have sent to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee and the President of Palestine, a telegram of greetings on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity With the People of Palestine.

Former Politburo Members 'Under House Arrest'

LD0512130789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1233 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Erstwhile members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo awaiting prosecution are under house arrest in the Wandlitz woodland estate. Deputy Prosecutor- General Harri Harrland informed the press of this in Berlin today. It was a kind of "state self-defense," legitimized by the will of the people, Harrland said, without going into detail on the persons concerned, however.

It was learned from the prosecutor-general's press office that this affected "all former Politburo members who were no longer members of the Politburo after 19 October and who were still living at Wandlitz." According to this, the former General Secretary and State Council Chairman Erich Honecker would be one of those not allowed to leave their homes in the estate.

According to Harrland, whose superior, GDR Prosecutor-General Guenter Wendland, had already submitted his resignation to the State Council, there had also been restrictions on the movements of important witnesses. This situation, reported to him last Sunday evening, was not contained in the code of criminal procedure and would be stopped as soon as possible by taking normal measures under criminal law. [passage omitted]

Prosecutor General, First Deputy Resign

LD0512112489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1058 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prosecutor General Guenter Wendland and his first deputy, Karl-Heinrich Borchert, submitted their resignation to the State Council this morning.

The prosecutor general's spokesman, Dr Peter Przybilski, informed the press of this in Berlin.

Amnesty Proposal Submitted to Krenz

LD0512113989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1106 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The ministers for internal affairs and justice and the GDR prosecutor general have submitted a proposal to GDR State Council Chairman Egon Krenz for the short-term implementation of a far-reaching amnesty, the State Council press office told ADN.

This proposal is being thoroughly examined with the objective of reaching a decision by the end of the week, it was reported.

SED Files Removed to Berlin Airport

LD0412175289 Hamburg DPA in German 1621 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Numerous documents are reported to have been removed today from the offices of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and taken to East Berlin Schoenefeld Airport. This information comes from artists' circles in East Berlin. According to them, there are plans to remove from the country the documents, which incriminate the old SED leadership.

The same sources also report that the documents were probably to have been flown from Schoenefeld Airport to Romania with the state fleet of aircraft, which the government says is now being disbanded.

The ground staff, however, refused to fuel the planes. There is speculation that the situation is confused also because people have been waiting for clear instructions from those responsible for the fleet of aircraft.

SED Denies Removal

LD0412183589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1738 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—It is presently being ensured that no files or other material can be removed from the former Socialist Unity Party of German [SED] Central Committee building in Berlin. This was stressed to ADN by Brigitte Zimmermann, the press spokeswoman of the working committee for the preparation of the extraordinary SED party congress formed on Sunday. Among the measures introduced are searches of the pockets of people working in the building. [passage omitted]

As Gregor Gysi, chairman of the commission for the investigation of violations of the party statute and of legality, told ADN he had informed the state prosecutor-general of the grounds for suspicion. The customs authorities were instructed to open freight in the presence of workers, to inspect it, and compare it with the freight papers. The public would be informed of the outcome of these investigations.

Dr Wolfgang Schwanitz, the head of the Office of National Security, said in response to an enquiry that all flights to Romania have been stopped. The last aircraft to fly to Bucharest took off at 1210. During the inspection of the freight on these aircraft, no Central Committee documents were found. [passage omitted]

Ban Demanded

LD0412195489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1813 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The general state attorney of the GDR demanded on Monday, on the basis of the state attorney law, that the head of the Office for National Security ban any destruction or removal of written

documents of the former Ministry of State Security so that the state attorney is able at any time to present files or documents.

It further says in a statement from the Press Office of the general state attorney to ADN, that he has instructed the state attorneys of the areas and the general state attorney of Berlin to do everything to prevent the destruction of documents. It is also particularly important to seal and secure buildings.

International Help Sought in Schalck Search

LD0412185189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1811 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—At the request of the state prosecutor-general of the GDR, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Monday involved the GDR embassies in all European states, the countries of the Middle East and a number of Latin American states in the search for the fleeing ex-secretary of state, Alexander Schalck-Golodkowski. This is revealed by a statement from the press office of the state prosecutor-general passed to ADN.

On the basis of the search documents of the State Prosecutor's Office, the embassies will immediately contact the Foreign Ministries of these states and ask for judicial aid in the search for the accused man. In particular there is a request for immediate notification if he is staying in a country or has traveled through it, or if the relevant states have initiated search measures. [passage omitted]

Corruption Inquiry Committee Formed

LD0412161189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1525 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The formation of a joint committee of inquiry for the merciless exposure of all abuses of office and corruption has been agreed upon by the GDR Government and representatives of the new social groups and parties. This was announced to the press in Berlin today by government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer after a discussion in the Council of Ministers building.

At the news conference, representatives of the new groups read an appeal asking GDR citizens to prevent movement of deposits and attempted cover-ups in view of the state crisis. Wolfgang Meyer stressed that Hans Modrow's government fully welcomes and supports this appeal. People's Chamber President Maleuda described it as an important initiative. The committee of inquiry will assess further work tomorrow and then report back to the press.

Criminal Police To Investigate Charges

LD0512113789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1057 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR prosecutor-general yesterday instructed the criminal police to investigate reports and indications accusing, among others, former members of the GDR Council of Ministers of having abused their position and their authority to enrich themselves or others at the expense of the socialist property. The Internal Affairs Ministry spokesman announced this today.

In the main department of criminal police, a task force had immediately been set up after first consulting with 50 criminologists from the capital and the country's areas [bezirke]. Other task force groups of the criminal police are working in the areas and districts [kreise] to investigate abuse of office and corruption by officials and directors of enterprises and institutions.

A total of 11 preliminary proceedings are currently being handled by the criminal police, along with 56 reports and indications.

Further on Criminal Case Against Mueller

LD0412212489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2000 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Erfurt (ADN)—The Erfurt Bezirk [Area] State Attorney Dieter Sander informed ADN and GDR Television today about investigations and reasons for issuing an arrest warrant against former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Bezirk Secretary Gerhard Mueller. An internal party report by the SED bezirk auditing commission was handed over on 1 December following demands by the state attorney. At the same time the state attorney personally visited the Kammerbach hunting lodge. The building is now sealed and the state attorney is presenting photographic and film material from journalists of the paper DAS VOLK and from the editors of the television program Prisma as proof of the completeness of the furnishings. Dieter Sander stressed that, in accordance with a state based on the rule of law, he had initiated proceedings against Gerhard Mueller on suspicion of a serious case of abuse of trust. He further stated that there were no special conditions whatsoever in the conditions of investigative custody for the former SED Politburo candidate member and bezirk first secretary. [passage omitted]

Leipzig State Security Offices Inspected

LD0412210889 Hamburg DPA in German 2032 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—Numerous citizens of Leipzig, including representatives of New Forum, and the chairman of Democratic Departure, lawyer Wolfgang Schnur, visited the offices of the former State Security Area [Bezirk] authorities on Monday evening. They went there to see for themselves that no files had been destroyed or, as elsewhere, removed.

To great applause, the relevant state prosecutor ensured, according to reports from Leipzig, that the offices were sealed in order to prevent suspected mishandling of the files. Many thousands of demonstrators had gathered in

front of the building on the ring road. They demanded punishment of State Security workers and shouted out: "Open up, open up!"

NDPD Expresses 'Repugnance' at Corruption

LD0412163589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1519 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The National Democratic Party of Germany Main Committee Secretariat has expressed horror and repugnance at the cases of corruption and depravity and the crimes against the people perpetrated by the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] leadership, who were finally mentioned by name in the recent meeting of the People's Chamber. In a statement sent to ADN, it says that the Presidium and its Secretariat elected on 28 November bear no share of the responsibility for these grave crimes and their concealment. The forced resignation of the SED Politburo and Central Committee was considered a necessary consequence.

"We favor a radical democratic and moral renewal of our country," the statement reads. "Nothing will deter us from this. This means that there are now at last the same chances for all parties and democratic movements in all spheres of our country." [passage omitted]

People's Police, Security Officers Demonstrate

LD0412201689 Hamburg DPA in German 1941 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—According to Radio GDR, People's Police officers and members of other security authorities demonstrated publicly for the first time in East Berlin this evening against abuse of office, corruption, and the removal of evidence. They stated that they want to do everything possible to clear up crimes. In addition, the guard regiment of the new Office of State Security, which used to be responsible to the Ministry of State Security under Erich Mielke, has come out in cover of total honesty about all violations of the law by the former GDR leadership. According to the radio station, the commander said that within the framework of the current possibilities, work is continuing on the remorseless investigation of the crimes. The government must introduce early measures so that the guard regiment's loyalty to the Constitution cannot be further abused.

Corruption of Ex-SED Leadership Criticized

AU0412205289 East Berlin NATIONAL-ZEITUNG in German 30 Nov 89 p 2

[Commentary by Ute Thuerling: "Does Power Make People Corrupt?"]

[Text] We have hardly "digested" the pictures of the Wandlitz settlement and have hardly vented our anger about the apparently false information given by administration chief Gerd Schmidt on the supplies for the settlement, in view of nearly 100 pallets of expensive goods imported from the West that were hastily removed, when the next report of this kind reached our editorial office: The former chairman of the Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, used to reside in the middle of a nature preserve near Speck, east of Mueritz, on the weekends with his family and friends on premises that were quite extensive, to put it mildly. There was everything they needed.

These reports make us angry, of course, but they also make us thoughtful. What kind of people are those who appealed to us for decades to work hard while at the same time they enjoyed the fruit of our hard work without blushing? Many of our former statesmen fought for their good ideas in an upright and steadfast manner during the terrible time of fascism in Germany, and they had to suffer hardships, the dimensions of that those who were born after 1945 cannot fully realize. If somebody is ready to undergo such suffering to make it possible for millions to live a dignified way and in equality, I would assume that he is inspired by the noblest ethical and moral principles.

With their unbearable ignorance toward the people, their misuse of power, their lifestyle, and other facts that are gradually coming to light, these former politicians have radically abandoned their good and progressive principles. If Kurt Hager, asked by journalists on a walk through the Wandlitz settlement, complains about the people's anger that is now directed toward him and other former politicians, this only means that he has apparently not understood anything.

I wonder what thousands of steadfast antifascists in our country think about the extravagant lifestyle of their former fellow fighters. There is a saying that one should let bygones be bygones. However, in the face of these facts, which may only be the tip of an iceberg, this is not possible. The rule of law must apply to everybody, without exception. Even if some reject this angrily, we have seen once again that power makes people corrupt.

Eberlein Comments on Charges Against Comrades

AU0412125689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25-26 Nov 89 p 3

[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND interview with Politburo member Werner Eberlein, new chairman of the Central Party Control Commission; date and place not given: "Make Sure That All Those Who Are Guilty Are Called To Account"]

[Text] NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Comrade Eberlein, what plans do you have in your new capacity, what challenges have to be met now?

Eberlein: Regardless of what people generally say, this position is not an easy job. We are facing an enormous amount of work. Yet I can start from the assumption that the many letters, petitions, calls and personal visits do not only contain reproaches or even accusations, but that most of them will also express the confidence that

comrades as well as citizens that are not party members put in the Central Party Control Commission [CPCC]. With our attitude we want to do full justice to this confidence.

In their petitions, people have again and again expressed their concern about the crisis that has developed in the party and in our country, and they demand that those responsible be strictly called to account for what they did.

Rehabilitation for Comrades Who Suffered Injustices

Moreover, party members who had to suffer injustice in the past, are now turning to us and demand that they be rehabilitated, so that they can be active within the party ranks, particularly in times like these; a case in point is Comrade Herbert Haeber, who, in violation of the statutes, was reprimanded in 1985 and released from all his posts. We have also received an application from the comrades of the Chemistry Department of the Humboldt University in Berlin to rehabilitate Robert Havemann, who was expelled from the party in 1964. At the same time we have also received many proposals and ideas for the work of party control in order to guarantee that things that happened in the past will not repeat in the future.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What specific tasks are you facing immediately, what are the tasks that must be tackled at once?

Eberlein: First of all one must not waste any time, and examine all information and find out who is responsible for infringements on the party statutes and on laws in connection with the abuse of power, with corruption, personal enrichment, and so on, and to make sure that all those who are guilty of offenses are called to account by the party and, if necessary, by legal authorities and other state bodies, both by disciplinary action and under criminal law.

A number of party procedures have already been initiated in this respect and are currently being carried out. Apart from those that were already published, I do not want to mention any more names to avoid advance condemnations. For the time being, we will not publish any details on closed proceedings to avoid other proceedings being influenced. Everything must be investigated in a business-like and correct way and take a fair course, even though, understandably, there are many impatient and urgent voices and demands. The CPCC will inform the public about the decision in this context.

The second great challenge that must be tackled immediately is the rehabilitation of those comrades that were punished or reprimanded because they criticized mistakes and abuses in the economic policy, the media policy, the ban of the magazine SPUTNIK, and so on.

Finally, the third great challenge is to present a detailed report on all these questions at the extraordinary party congress between 15-17 December 1989. There we will have to discuss fundamental questions, such as the role and position of the party control commissions within the party structure of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], including personnel changes, which the party congress will have to adopt.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: Demands have been repeatedly raised in this context to call comrades to account for the abuse of power. We would like to know some details about this.

Eberlein: First of all, one must define the term privilege, because there are very differing ideas and interpretations in this connection.

Wilhelm Liebknecht's Dictionary of Foreign Words defines privilege as a special right or immunity granted to a certain person or class. Starting from this term I would like to say quite clearly that in the renewed social society there is no room for special rights and immunities for certain people—it never existed for a certain class, anyway. Every citizen and thus, also every official of a party or mass organization, every functionary of the state or the economy must act within the bounds that are established by the Constitution and by the law.

Our action program clearly states that within the party, the SED immediately eliminates any special regulations and privileges that are not linked to a certain performance.

"Honorary Pensions" and Other Benefits Abolished

Thus, the so-called "honorary pensions," for which only a certain group of people qualify, have been abolished as of now, as have benefits, which were paid in connection with the membership in scientific institutions.

Nevertheless, the party's pension fund will continue to exist, a fund that, on the basis of voluntary monthly contributions, guarantees each employee an additional pension. This pension fund does not involve any state subsidies.

As far as the housing estate in Wandlitz is concerned, the media have already reported on it.

We also received information that in several bezirks and kreises officials enjoyed special rights, which were not available to others. However, at the same time we must reject as malevolent fabrications those rumors that claim that Politburo members have their own aircraft, weekend estates with private airfields, their own houses, land and bank accounts in capitalist countries, and so on.

Workers from the Chip Board Works VEB in Ribnitz-Damgarten have pointed out, for example, that Comrades Hermann Axen and Gerhard Schuerer have stately homes on the Darss Peninsula that ought to be put to a different use immediately.

Yet, in this case one might argue whether this is really a privilege; after all, at the Baltic Sea there are quite a few stately buildings, both privately owned and state-owned.

In this case, both houses were built by a state construction enterprise and are rented out to the persons in question. Following the Ninth Central Committee Meeting, the comrades canceled their tenancy agreements and the houses were returned to the Council of the Rostock Bezirk and the State Forestry Enterprise Roevershagen, respectively, and will be opened for public use.

Infringements Will Be Punished Irrespective of Identity of Offender

In the future, the homes or guest houses built at the cost of the party, and that are its property, will be made more easily accessible to a wider circle of comrades, and will be used to capacity.

Another case in point is hunting. As far as we know, there are some 45,000 organized hunters in the GDR, that is to say members of hunting clubs, whose hobby is hunting and who do something useful for nature and the environment. Yet, wherever there were hunting grounds for individuals one must speak of privileges, which will now be abolished, even though it is already rather late.

The Party Control Commissions will make sure that now these principles are in all spheres, and that illegal special rights and privileges are abolished.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: What will happen to those who are found guilty of abuse of authority or the use of unjustified privileges?

Eberlein: The SED Central Committee believes that any infringement of the Constitution and GDR laws must be punished irrespective of the identity of the offender.

We will consistently investigate all cases of unscrupulous or immoral habits, megalomania, and similar attitudes, which have harmed the reputation of the party—I am speaking on behalf of the SED—and the party will resort to disciplinary measures, release certain officials from their functions, or even expel them from the party; we will act in the same way the CPCC acted against Guenter Mittag and other people.

For state functionaries this means disciplinary punishment and, if necessary, they may even have to resign from their functions. As far as abuse of state means and violations of the law are concerned, the matter will be handed over to the state prosecutor or the courts. However, this cannot happen in a general action, but one must deal with and decide in every single case individually. Yet it is not enough to make simple accusations and claims. One also needs facts and evidence; those involved have the right to being treated properly in this way, a right that applies to any citizen of our state.

Fight Against Rumors and Character Assassination

In this connection I must say that quite a few very general accusations have been made and that the CPCC must therefore carry out profound investigations and interrogations in order to arrive at fair decisions.

Right now many unfair accusations are being made, ranging from rumors and untenable suspicions, to character assassination, and physical threats against individuals. We will try as hard as we can to find out the truth in every single case. This means of course also that we must protect those that have been wrongly accused and defamed and even take legal steps against the slanderers.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND: You said that there is a great number of motions and demands concerning all these questions. Can you give us a dateline up to which all these questions will be examined and settled?

Eberlein: As I said before, we have received hundreds of such letters, verbal motions, inquiries made via the telephone, and so on. We will examine all these inquiries and demands and deal with those issues that can be decided at once, quickly and without red tape to ensure that, already at the extraordinary party congress, a major part of these matters can be concluded and that we can report about them.

It is our objective to rapidly decide on as many things as possible, and in an unbureaucratic way. The party and the public have a right to this.

In this connection I would like to make the following request: Considering the great number of letters, telephone calls, investigations, and so on, we will not always be able to answer in writing at once all the comrades and all citizens who have written to us. Thus we ask for understanding and assure you that we will examine all letters and information at length.

Magdeburg, Berlin, Frankfurt Rallies Noted

LD0412224989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2146 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Thousands of citizens in Potsdam, Magdeburg, Berlin, Suhl and Frankfurt (Oder) attended demonstrations and rallies Monday evening [4 December]. [passage omitted]

More than 60,000 Magdeburg citizens demonstrated for social renewal on the inner city ring road of the bezirk town following Monday prayers. [passage omitted]

Around 2,000 Berliners appeared on the Alexanderplatz. [passage omitted]

Thousands of inhabitants of Frankfurt (Oder) spoke against a general strike at a rally organized by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Kreis organization Monday evening. [passage omitted]

Rallies Cited

LD0412200789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1922 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—In numerous cities in the GDR, including Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Stadt, Schwerin, Dresden, Neubrandenburg, Cottbus, and Halle, there were rallies and demonstrations today. [passage omitted]

Karl-Marx-Stadt—In front of more than 60,000 people in Karl-Marx-Stadt the council of spokesmen of New Forum denied once again the appeal for a general strike next Wednesday. Strikes could only be the very last resort for the solution of political conflicts in the country. [passage omitted] After the rally, the procession, which was several kilometers long, moved through the center of the Saxon city.

Schwerin—After peace prayers in several churches, some 10,000 citizens of Schwerin came together in the Alter Garten in the early evening. There a peaceful column formed, which went through the city center past the bezirk office of national security. [passage omitted] A speaker demanded all abuses should be uncovered, this is a matter not only for the state prosecutor, but for all citizens.

Dresden—Tens of thousands of citizens of Dresden went on to the streets. They were demonstrating for internal and external peace in the country and for solidarity with its neighbors. The basic tenor was, however, demands for reunification, for dissolution of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and punishment of those responsible for the crisis. There were cheers when it was announced that a strike committee has been formed in Dresden. [passage omitted]

Neubrandenburg—After a peace prayer in the Johanniskirche, some 10,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of Neubrandenburg. Their destination was the editorial offices of the SED Bezirk newspaper, FREIE ERDE. There they demanded press and media freedom in the GDR and access by all the people, not just individual parties, to newspapers and electronic media. [passage omitted]

Demonstrations Continue

LD0412193389 Hamburg DPA in German 1855 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Leipzig/Dresden (DPA)—More than 250,000 people demonstrated in several GDR cities today for reforms, the punishment of guilty Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] officials, and also for a united Germany. In Leipzig, where according to GDR television, some 150,000 were on the streets. And in Dresden there were many black, red, and gold flags to be seen. There were demands for "unity, justice, and freedom" in chants and on banners.

In Leipzig tonight, members of opposition groups negotiated with representatives of the former Ministry of State Security for the handing over of files. This was to prevent files from "disappearing." It was learned from Erfurt that on the same day members of opposition groups found nothing but empty filing cabinets after gaining entry into the State Security building.

In Leipzig, the crowd marched around and Altstadt Ring, as on previous Mondays, and demonstrated for reforms and for the punishment of those responsible for the GDR's sorry state. [passage omitted]

CDU Calls for Krenz To Resign as Head of State

LD0412214889 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] leadership called on Egon Krenz today to resign as head of state and chairman of the National Defense Council, and also stated that it is withdrawing from the Democratic Bloc. The People's Chamber should vote Egon Krenz out of office at a special session on 8 December. He no longer has legitimacy or confidence. The CDU requests Christa Wolf to put herself forward for the highest state office of the GDR. The duties of head of the National Defense Council should be given to Hans Modrow. The CDU believes the round table is suitable for further work where other political and social forces may also sit. There is no longer any need for the central activity of the National Front.

Rostock Bezirk Council Decides To Resign

LD0412204689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1914 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—The Rostock Bezirk [area] Council decided to resign today. This decision was discussed today with the mandated parties and organizations.

The Bezirk Council was motivated by the fact that its credibility has been increasingly burdened by revelations concerning state hunting grounds, guest houses and the IMES [expansion unknown] GmbH [company], Kavelstorf, and by public accusations against individual council members. The required process of renewal in all parts of the bezirk should be supported by the resignation, a statement says.

The application of the council [to resign] is to be put before the bezirk congress scheduled for 13 December.

Public Figures Appeal for Citizens Committees

LD0412232889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2224 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Renowned public figures from various spheres of social life in the GDR issued an appeal in Berlin late Monday evening to the government and the People's Chamber. In view of the expressions of anger, outrage at abuse of power, corruption, crimes, and attempts to cover up criminal acts in the GDR, they call for the immediate creation of legal foundations for the formation of citizen committees.

Serious governmental business, it continues, can no longer progress without the citizen movement. The citizen committees should, in a security partnership with town and country state organs, first carry out control

measures, secure evidence, and work together with the state attorney's investigations.

Among the signatories in the appeal are Prof Dr Dieter Klein (SED working committee), former Bishop Dr Albrecht Schoenherr, Volker Braun (writer), Stepham Hermlin (writer), Jutta Wachowiak (actress), Konrad Weiss (Democracy Now), Toni Krahl (rock singer), Ruth Misselwitz (pastor), Wolfgang Berghofer (SED working committee and chief mayor of Dresden), Andreas Thun (Platform WF) [expression unknown], Bettina Sitte (lawyer), Rosmarie Schuder (writer), Rudolf Hirsch (writer), Gregor Gysi (SED working committee), and Christoph Hein (writer).

SED Committee Appeals to People To Remain Calm

LD0412190689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1743 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The working committee preparing for the extraordinary Socialist Unity Party of Germany congress on 4 December called upon the GDR Government to make an appeal this evening to the people to be calm and level-headed. This was announced by Brigitte Zimmerman, spokeswoman for the working committee, at a briefing in Berlin after the committee's second session. The non-violence that has characterized the renewal in the GDR has to be maintained.

Further on Appeal

LD0412210789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1842 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Today the working committee preparing the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] extraordinary congress, which was formed yesterday, addressed a request to appeal to the GDR Government to appeal to the people this evening to be calm and level-headed.

This was reported by Brigitte Zimmermann, spokeswoman of the working committee, at a briefing in Berlin at which the other members of the committee, Lothar Bisky and Wolfgang Pohl, were present. Herbert Kroker, the committee chairman, had telephoned Hans Modrow in Moscow for this reason.

The committee has agreed on a statement. According to this, its members learned with great concern that there are signs of people taking the law into their own hands and forcing entry into public buildings. The committee appeals to all citizens to be level-headed and responsible and, above all, not to use violence.

Illegal acts, whoever commits them, should be tolerated just as little as anarchy and chaos. The committee appealed to all party members to commit themselves to calmness and level-headedness at their place in society in the interests of the country's development.

During the briefing, the spokeswoman reported on the proposed agenda for the party congress and answered questions from journalists. On the agenda is a paper from the committee chairman, "On the crisis in society and its causes; on the responsibility of the SED," a discussion on a rendering of accounts by the Central Committee that resigned, and a paper "on the future tasks of the party" by Hans Albrecht, first secretary of Berlin Bezirk.

Working groups have been formed in the meantime, which are working in preparation for the party congress on necessary materials in which the social situation, the cause of the crisis in the party, and violations of the law are being analysed. A large number of party congress delegates will be incorporated into the working group activity.

The spokeswoman described the situation in the party as "extraordinarily critical;" this is "the most critical point" the party has ever faced. The party congress should show whether the party has a mission in society. In her personal view, "the left" should also organize in this country regardless of the party's situation.

Justice Ministry on Call for 6 Dec Strike

LD0412181289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1718 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"In the present economic situation in the GDR, uninterrupted production is required in the interests of all citizens. Any interruption in production endangers supply and the maintenance of social security," stresses a justice ministry statement conveyed to ADN on 4 December on the strike call from New Forum Karl-Marx-Stadt. Only the hard work of all citizens can lead the country out of crisis.

In the legal order of the GDR, there are no regulations concerning the right to strike either in the COnstitution or in the Labor Law. There has been no need for this to date. The minister for employment and wages was entrusted on 23 November with preparing a law on the regulation of labor conflicts, which the People's Chamber is then to discuss and consider. The right to strike will also be regulated in this law.

According to the present legal regulations in the Labor Law, wages can only be demanded and paid for work actually done, the statement says in conclusion.

Unions Reject Strike

LD0412195189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1750 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The secretariats of the central executive of the metal, textile, clothing and leather, transport and communications systems, and printing and paper industrial trade unions of the Free German Trade Union Federation appeal to the working people in industry, and the transport and communication system, not to follow any call to stop work in these days that are so decisive for the further existence of the GDR. This was said in a joint statement conveyed to ADN today. [passage omitted]

New Forum Berlin Calls for 'Swift Referendum'

LD0412121989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1137 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the New Forum Berlin have appealed for "constructive examination of the FRG Federal Government's Germany policy ideas and its 10-point plan, and rapid determining in negotiations of what can be done in the short and medium terms, and in the interests of the people here." According to a statement sent to ADN today from Claus Gerd Scheidig and Christiane Paetzold, this was the only thing open to honest, responsible people who are ready to accept political responsibility at this difficult time—"after the collapse, unsuccessfully delayed for 6 weeks, of the existing Socialist Unity Party of Germany apparatus." A possible unified German national state in the long term within the present borders of the GDR and the FRG after absolution from the military commitments of the Warsaw Pact and NATO should, according to the statement, no longer be considered an undisputed utopia. In order to achieve a realistic evaluation of the genuine will of the people, all grass-roots groups of the New Forum throughout the country should press for a swift referendum on this question.

Denies Referendum Call

LD0412185289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1740 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The national spokesman's council of New Forum told ADN this evening that it has called neither for a referendum on the 10-point plan of Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl nor for one on reunification.

Klaus-Gerd Scheidig and Christiane Paetzold, who were named in an ADN report at midday today, are not known to New Forum, it says in a statement signed by Baerbel Bohley and Reinhard Schult.

The national spokesman's council says that statements on behalf of New Forum are valid only if they are signed by members of its spokesman's council.

Social Democrats Call for Spring Elections

LD0412105589 Hamburg DPA in German 0956 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The democracy movement New Forum and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) in the GDR favor rapid new elections. New Forum spokesman Rolf Henrich said on North German Radio today that the political leadership of his country no longer has any identification at present. The government under Premier Hans Modrow is "a form of emergency government" whose only aim has to be timely free elections.

The GDR Social Democrats Executive believes that Modrow is no longer in a position to deal with government business properly. In a statement published in East Berlin, the SDP favors elections next spring; 6 May was cited as a date. Those participating in the roundtable, where all civil movements and parties are meeting on Thursday, should also speak in favor of this.

GDR Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere, who is also a deputy premier, announced on Deutschlandfunk that his party will leave the block of parties before Thursday and take part in the roundtable as an independent force. In contrast to the New Forum and the SDP, de Maiziere thinks that the resignations of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Politburo and Central Committee yesterday had no immediate repercussions on the government's work. The CDU chairman said that he assumes that the SED will also continue to exist after the party congress 15-17 December. It is uncertain whether it will still be under this name or whether there will perhaps be two parties.

1,000 People's Police Sent to Economic Sector

LD0412113889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1116 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At present, far more than 1,000 members of the German People's Police and the other organs of the Internal Affairs Ministry are being deployed in the GDR national economy, the ministry's press office announced today. It has been possible to release these forces through alterations in service organizations and voluntary acceptance of additional shifts. Thus, 405 People's Police, in particular in the bezirk towns, are supporting the workers of the local service sector. A total of 247 will assist the State Railway, a further 214 are deployed in the port economy. Over 120 heavy-goods vehicles and tankers of the People's Police are helping to ensure that commerce can guarantee supplies to the population.

Miliary Assists Health Service, Economy

LD0212121689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1401 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Further members of the National People's Army have been deployed in the GDR health service and economy beginning today. According to the Ministry of Health and Social Services, 1,640 construction soldiers, whose numbers will rise to 2,000 this month, are beginning work today in hospitals, retirement homes, rescue services of the German Red Cross, supply depots for pharmaceuticals and medical technology, and church medical institutions. Deployed in nearly all districts of the Dresden, Gera, Leipzig, Halle, Karl-Marx-Stadt areas and Berlin, they were working mainly as nursing aides or drivers, in kitchens and laundries, as cleaners, in the materials economy, and as boilermen.

Beginning today, around 6,000 conscripts are also at the disposal of the heavy and chemical industrises, the coal and energy economy, the construction industry, and the sphere of the environmental protection and the water management industry, the Defense Ministry stated. The

Army members will work for a set period in the enterprises as skilled workers in their learned professions and priority areas.

10,000 State Security Members Discharged

LD0412131289 Hamburg DPA in German 1223 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Ten thousand feared members of the former GDR Ministry for State Security have been discharged. The new GDR minister for national security, Lieutenant General Wolfgang Schwanitz, reported this in an interview with the Hamburg news magazine STERN. Schwanitz emphasized, however, the undiminished continuation of intelligence activity in the West. However, Schwanitz said that he is also ready to cooperate with Western secret services in fighting terrorism and drugs.

In connection with the criticism of earlier State Security Service work, Schwanitz announced that in the future "dissidents" will "no longer be persecuted" in the GDR. Every member who has "used unauthorized means or mistakenly carried out attacks" will be called to account. To date, after 22 reports and 34 petitions, 7 preliminary investigations have been instituted.

An edited version of this interview was prereleased to DPA.

Nickel Reaffirms Hard Currency for Travelers

LD0412214289 Hamburg DPA in German 2055 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Speaking on GDR Television Monday evening, GDR Finance Minister Uta Nickel once again reaffirmed that every GDR citizen will be given Western money for trips to the FRG. Every citizen "of our country will be provided with hard currency," she said in a magazine program called "Morals and Money." Discussions are going on on the amount of money that will be provided. In view of the present discussion, she will not give any figures. Frau Nickel made it clear during the broadcast that the government needs hard currency not only for trips by its citizens. She said the GDR needs hard currency for the economy and its increased performance.

Council of Ministers Fights Travel Abuses

AU0312185789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Nov 89 pp 1-2

[Report by Dietmar Rietz and Uwe Stemmler: "Council of Ministers Adopts Measures Against Profiteers and Speculators"]

[Text] Berlin—The new travel regulations in the GDR have been in force for 2 weeks. Millions of people have taken advantage of them. However, the people have also demanded that abuses be prevented. Is the "time of smiles" at the borders over now? At a news conference following the Council of Ministers meeting on Thursday [23 November], government spokesman Wolfgang Meyer informed the press:

The government has decided on the following measures to prevent negative effects of tourist travel. Theses measures will go into force as of 24 November:

1. A reliable customs regimen will be ensured at the border crossings with the FRG and Berlin (West) as well as in transit traffic across the GDR, in particular by increasing the staff of the customs organs, and by creating relevant facilities and customs clearance offices.

2. Certain industrial goods, textiles, and foodstuffs will only be sold to GDR citizens and foreign workers living in the GDR. In case of doubt, the right to buy such goods must be proved by an identity card or an equivalent document. Members of the Interior Ministry, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate, and the Customs Investigation Service both in uniform and plainclothes will assist the sales personnel in shops that are largely frequented by foreign citizens.

3. It is no longer permissible to leave transit roads between the Polish People's Republic and Berlin (West) as well as the FRG, except in cases of emergency. No interruption of travel is permissible in passenger trains on transit across the GDR.

These decisions may lead to additional strains on sales clerks in certain shops, or they may result in longer waiting times at cross-border points. The government spokesman said he was convinced that most citizens of the GDR, the FRG and West Berlin, as well as other countries, welcomed the travel regulations as an important step toward renewal in the GDR, toward getting acquainted with each other, and toward stabilizing the situation in the center of Europe. Those who used the generous regulations in a normal way could continue to expect a friendly smile from border and customs officials, he said.

Answering relevant questions, Meyer said that no currency reform was envisioned, nor would the GDR mark be devalued. Naturally, this also meant that an exchange of banknotes was not being considered, he said. In addition, such measures were a matter of long-term analysis, Meyer said.

The Modrow government intends to submit an entire package of decisions to the People's Chamber before the end of this year. According to Meyer, this complex program, which is a good basis for long-term joint government work, includes the 1990 draft economic and government budgets, a basic concept for stabilizing the economy, measures to increase consumer goods production, emergency measures to guarantee medical care of the people, and proposals for the promotion of private and cooperative crafts, trade, and catering enterprises.

Among other proposals, the following will be discussed in the first months of next year: Proposals for a comprehensive economic reform, basic concepts for reforms in the educational sector and in science policy, foreign trade relations, old-age pensions, environmental policy, and energy policy. In this connection, the government has considered the numerous proposals and suggestions of deputies during the recent People's Chamber sessions.

This also holds true for the travel law that was also discussed at the Council of Ministers meeting on Thursday. More than 38,000 letters containing 82,000 individual proposals on the first draft were received by the commission assessing the public discussion by 21 November. State organs and facilities submitted nine drafts of their own.

The public discussion will be continued until 30 November, before the Council of Ministers will submit the new draft to the People's Chamber. However, we can already assume today that every GDR citizen will have the right to travel abroad and to get a passport for this purpose. Then exit visas will no longer be necessary. To prevent any misunderstanding: The current regulation involving a visa in the personal identity card will be valid until every GDR citizen will have had an opportunity to acquire a passport, possibly until the end of 1990.

Government spokesman Meyer also noted the following decision of the Council of Ministers: As of 5 March 1990, meaning following the winter holidays, the 5-day school week will be introduced for all general schools and for all vocational schools.

Late Thursday afternoon, Manfred Flegel, minister for trade and supply, and Chief Inspector Gerhard Stauch, head of the GDR Customs Administration, answered questions from GDR journalists. Minister Flegel said he hoped that the sell-out in shops would be noticeably reduced as a result of the regulations introduced. He said that the solution was not unproblematic, but viewed from an economic standpoint, it was indispensable, not least in order to guarantee a good course of Christmas shopping. In this respect, additional imports are envisioned. Manfred Flegel gave a few concrete figures. As compared to the previous year, between 50 and 60 percent more oranges and between 30 and 40 percent more bananas will be offered in our shops. The supply of poultry, including turkeys and geese, will fully meet demand. The minister for trade and supply admitted, however, that there were also goods categories where the demand could not be met in the foreseeable future.

In a statement to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, Gerhard Stauch asked all citizens to show understanding for the measures that would be introduced as of Friday [24 November] in our country's interest. He said that they were by no means aimed one-sidedly against the citizens of Poland or other countries but against smuggling and speculation. The chief of the customs administration called for active support by all GDR citizens to prevent speculative trade.

Revealing examples were cited to demonstrate the dimension of speculation. A man was caught recently who employed 15 middlemen who sold illegally imported Polish goods on numerous markets. He had a huge income. Often GDR citizens act as middlemen for gangs of profiteers and speculators. A new market order is supposed to counteract that in the future.

That Polish citizens are not the only ones involved in smuggling is proved by the following facts: A Vietnamese citizen was caught when he was trying to export M25,000 from the GDR. A Soviet citizen was caught with 43 pairs of children's shoes and 25 pairs of children's stockings. Two Romanian citizens were trying to smuggle goods worth M10,000 across the border, including 61.7 kilograms of coffee, 774 bars of chocolate, and 16.8 kilograms of pepper. At the Bad Schandau border crossing, customs officials found 96.6 kilograms of salami hidden under the seats of a train. Stauch said that on the whole, an outflow of goods from the GDR worth between M2 billion and M2.5 billion had to be expected this year. Adding the subsidies on these goods, the economic value amounted to between M3 billion and M4 billion, he said.

Prosecutor General Discusses Police Excesses

AU2711215289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Nov 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Prosecutor General Reports to People's Chamber; Any Information Was Checked and Investigations Were Initiated"]

[Text] Last item on the agenda of the People's Chamber session: Report of GDR Prosecutor General Guenter Wendland on the results achieved so far during the examination of the excesses of the security organs on the occasion of the demonstrations in connection with the 40th GDR anniversary.

Situation Was Wrongly Assessed

Among other things, Guenter Wendland said: Late in the summer of 1989, internal contradictions, which were not realized and solved in time by the responsible people, were becoming exacerbated in our country. This especially included the fact that many thousands of citizens left their country. In demonstrations, indignation at the situation was shown. Conflicts became apparent. Because of an incorrect assessment of the situation, the way toward a political solution was not found.

In this situation, mass protests and even dangerous violent acts took place in Dresden in connection with the decision, which is incomprehensible from today's point of view, to send special trains from the GDR to the FRG for the emigration of GDR citizens. Order was only re-established by the employment of comprehensive

protection and security forces. This resulted in considerable destruction in the area of the railroad station and in Prager Strasse, and many people were injured, among them more than 100 people's policemen. Unprecedented numbers of people were detained and arrested.

On 7 and 8 October 1989, demonstrations during which the people demanded and initiated the policy of the renewal of socialism took place in Dresden, Berlin, and other cities. The character of these demonstrations was wrongly assessed. They were regarded as antisocialist. As a consequence, an attempt was made to dissolve these demonstrations by police measures.

"In the course of our investigations, we also tried to clear up the operational orders," Wendland stressed. For example, the operational order of the president of the Berlin People's Police is the basis of the mandate to always guarantee exemplary order and security in the capital, and to clear up and prevent in time hostile and negative actions, as well as other provocations and trouble-making.

Comparable orders were also given by other chiefs of bezirk authorities. At the same time, the protection and security forces were requested to ensure calm, exact, and impartial conduct in all their operations, under any condition.

In the course of large-scale police measures to prevent or terminate unregistered demonstrations, 3,456 persons were detained by the protection and security organs in our republic, primarily in Berlin and Dresden. Among them were persons who had not been involved. Investigations were initiated against 630 persons, 296 of whom were imprisoned for a short time. Except for persons who had committed violent acts or against whom investigations were conducted as they were suspected of having committed violent acts, all others were released until 15 October 1989.

Life has shown that political conflicts cannot be solved by criminal law. "I am responsible for not having realized this in time and I will have to answer for it, which is also in accordance with the wishes of the public prosecutors who were subject to me," the speaker stressed.

The argument about the fact that the radical break with incorrect security ideas, and the necessary change of the legal bases of activities, including the stipulations of the second and eighth chapter of the Criminal Code, are preconditions to prevent the repetition of such decisions. Work on the changes has started.

Entries in the Judicial Records Deleted

With the State Council decision of 27 October 1989, a general amnesty was declared for all actions subject to criminal prosecution—with the exception of violent criminals. This amnesty resulted in far-reaching decisions, for example, the deletion of all entries in judicial records.

In connection with the arrests in the period around 7 October, there were excesses by the members of the protection and security organs, above all violence and behavior that harmed the dignity of the arrested persons.

Excesses consisted, above all, in exercising physical pressure on persons who had been detained; after having been taken into custody, persons were beaten and some of them were forced to stand in painful positions for a long time, they were also offended and humiliated in other ways.

We also consider the fact that legal deadlines of detention were often exceeded, which was part of the excesses. This also includes the fact that several of the detained persons were recorded in the police files.

The large number of people detained by protection and security organs aggravated the situation. It even resulted in the fact that persons remained in vehicles, garages, and other unsuitable locations for a long time, partly without being able to sit down and under insufficiently sanitary conditions. Only after some time were these citizens provided with beverages and food, and medical care—if required—was ensured.

However, he, the prosecutor general, also has to state that a large number of petitions and pieces of information have repeatedly confirmed that the security organs and the investigators, with the first interrogation of the detained persons, work objectively and correctly. In exceptional cases in which persons who had been questioned pointed out illegal methods during their interrogation, investigations were immediately and strictly initiated.

Several causes led to large-scale and time-consuming investigations in individual cases. "So far, the citizens have turned to the Department of Public Prosecution and the investigating organs with 480 petitions and reports that substantiate our suspicion that criminal acts were committed," the prosecutor general reported. Every day new information is produced. The Department of Public Prosecution included the recollections submitted by church leaderships in Berlin and Dresden.

On the whole, 76 investigations of excesses were initiated. In the course of them, we found 33 persons who were members of the protective and security organs who had committed excesses. It has been ascertained that authorities were exceeded in the presence of superior officers. Their responsibility will also be examined; 43 investigations against persons unknown were instituted.

The investigations initiated so far concern deliberate, maliciously inflicted bodily injury—in one case even serious bodily injury—coercion, and insult. In the proceedings on the serious bodily injury, a charge was brought. Three other charges are prepared. All proceedings will take place in open court. Their results will be reported.

Compensation for Material Damages Paid Without Delay

Charges where the suspicion of criminal offense was not confirmed, as well as petitions, complaints, or reports addressed to the protective and security organs were examined by these organs on their own accord. According to information supplied to us, this concerns 588 petitions and complaints. Personal talks with those concerned were held. In this connection, apologies were expressed toward the individuals concerned, and compensation for material damages was paid without delay and in an unbureaucratic manner. This was done in 155 cases.

Administrative measures were taken against staffers whose transgressions were not criminally punishable offenses. Guenter Wendland said that the first and most important conclusion was "that we will examine all reports that we receive as soon as possible, we will make final decisions on the persons who are responsible for transgressions without delay, and we will react with the necessary consistency and differentiation."

Wendland said that, second, it must be ensured that compensation be paid to all persons for damages caused by illegal acts. That applies in particular to material damages and loss of wages.

It is already a clear decision that all police records must be verifiably destroyed. The fourth consideration is that the necessary legislative measures must be taken to guarantee, on a new basis, that the protective and security organs act in accordance with the law. In addition to the published proposal on drafting a law on state security, we think that the law on the People's Police should also be redrafted, particularly the provisions on detention and arrest; moreover, possibilities should be opened to have police measures reviewed by the courts, and the public prosecutors' supervisory authority over police measures should be extended.

In order to increase the special responsibility of state organs for the citizens' legal security, it must be decided whether facts should again be included in the penal code that are related to criminal offenses involving the violation of official duties. Until 1968, there were so-called criminal offenses in office—illegal arrest and bodily injury.

In conclusion, the speaker said: We are facing the task of investigating everything. However, we are also aware of the moral obligation of this task: to do everything in our power to make sure that the victims and many others, that the public in our country see that such acts, transgressions, and punishable offenses will not be tolerated—above all, if they are committed by members of state organs.

However, there is a second aspect: We want to find out who committed such acts, and we will differentiate between all those who do their duty responsibly to protect our citizens' life and limb and property, and those who have violated their duty.

PRC Protests Dalai Lama's Upcoming Visit

LD0512092289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0649 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Beijing/Berlin (ADN)—The Chinese Foreign Ministry has expressed its concern to the GDR Embassy in Beijing about the Dalai Lama's impending visit to the GDR. It referred to the fact that this would be the Dalai Lama's first visit to a socialist country. The Dalai Lama, according to the Chinese side, is a political emigrant who is working against both the unity and the nationalities of the People's Republic of China.

The initiative "Peace and Human Rights," and the movements "Democracy Now" and New Forum invited the Dalai Lama, who has the title of the secular and spiritual leader of Tibet, to visit the GDR capital. The guest will arrive in the GDR capital tomorrow morning from West Berlin. After leaving a wreath at the former Jewish old people's home in the Grosser Hamburger Strasse, and an information meeting in the Bonhoeffer House, he will return to West Berlin.

SPD Statement Opposes Rapid Reunification

LD0412144889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1336 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In a statement sent to ADN today, the Socialist Democratic Party (SPD) executive speaks out against the rapid reunification of the GDR and the FRG. The statement reads as follows:

The Social Democrats of the GDR recognize the unity of the German nation.

This unity must be shaped by both German states.

An opportunity for this is now emerging, since we have achieved the possibility of self-determination after 40 years of dictatorship. We are on the verge of becoming equal partners in this formation. Rapid reunification in the sense of integration into the FRG would be the very thing to jeopardize this.

The population of this country would have serious social and political burdens to bear.

As a result of the present inefficiency of our economy and infrastructure, a majority of our population would sink to the lower social strata of an affluent society. Families with many children, single-parent families, pensioners, the handicapped, and the sick would have to suffer unforeseeable consequences.

The shaping of German unity is not our concern alone. It must come about in such a way that the development of a peaceful European order is not jeopardized, but rather promoted.

We must not overlook the interests of our Eastern European neighbors who, like ourselves, are treading the path of self-determination. They should be assured of the final recognition of their borders and of our solidarity.

We would like, together with the Federal Republic, to approach the former victorious powers to negotiate a peace treaty that accords us full sovereignty.

The necessary economic renovation of our country requires not a rapid annexation to the Federal Republic, as many believe, but the establishment of a democratically elected government. This then can, since it is recognized as legitimate, strongly represent our interests in negotiations on economic cooperation and aid.

Therefore, early elections to the supreme people's representative body are urgently needed.

A further statement sent to ADN says:

In upholding our responsibility to our country and its people, we call on all political forces at the round table to advocate democratic, secret, and free elections to the highest people's representative body on 6 May 1990. The SPD refers to the fact that, in its statement of 12 November 1989 in favor of a late date for the elections, it was guided by the fact that an interim government was in a position to guarantee political and economic stability for a year. But the political situation is deteriorating daily. The development of a crisis is advancing at a gallop.

Modrow Discusses Relations With FRG

AU0512085889 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 4 Dec 89 pp 34-53

[Interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Hans Modrow by Hartmut Palmer, Erich Boehme, Werner Funk, and Ulrich Schwarz in East Berlin; date not given: "Only Within the Present Borders"]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr premier, everyone is talking about a confederation—Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Bonn and also your General Secretary Egon Krenz in Berlin. In your government statement you spoke of the German "community of treaties." What do you mean by this?

Modrow: I used this phrase in the government statement because I wanted to make clear how many new fields have to be opened up in the relations between the GDR and the FRG, which are not supported by treaties at present and are somehow hanging in the air. Thus, it is an offer that should create another dimension in our relations. In my view, this should be a start for a certain stage in time. And how we should then proceed and continue with this here—all these are questions that we have to ask ourselves in the future.

DER SPIEGEL: A community of treaties as a preliminary stage of a confederation?

Modrow: The steps that will follow can be developed afterwards, in my view.

DER SPIEGEL: Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] General Secretary Krenz said that a confederation cannot be ruled out under certain conditions.

Modrow: Exactly, I do not rule it out, either. But I proceed from the following: If we want to start talking about a confederation, we have to stay realistic. Otherwise I think that we are talking more about wishes and dreams. For this I also need a stage in which things can be expanded and developed.

DER SPIEGEL: Can you tell us more specifically what you think should happen during this first stage?

Modrow: In my view, during this first stage the things that have so far existed only in the form of communiques and similar statements between the FRG Government and the GDR Government should be based on real treaties. You have completely different treaties with other partners.

DER SPIEGEL: You mean with the EC?

Modrow: Yes, and we have treaties with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries in which important things have been developed, and then we have to ask how does this work between two states with different social systems in the process of reform and renewal. There are profound questions, not only in the economic field. What about the nation and the two states? Are there two nations, is there one nation with two states?

First of all, we need a foundation that creates the possibility to develop other things. After all, we live in Europe and in a world that is looking upon us; you are not without neighbors and allies, and nor are we. And we—both states in the alliance—need trust for what is happening.

DER SPIEGEL: What can you imagine concerning practical policy? Do you, like Chancellor Kohl, also think of joint committees of the two German governments?

Modrow: Yes, of course.

DER SPIEGEL: Or of permanent consultation mechanisms between Bonn and East Berlin?

Modrow: This is precisely what I am thinking of. We have to make sure that the functioning of the mutual relations are not left to chance.

DER SPIEGEL: Would you appoint a representative of your government to be responsible for these matters?

Modrow: This possibility is also being considered. At the moment, with Mr Schalck, we have a man for the negotiation who is not completely unknown in your country....

DER SPIEGEL: In particular because of his shady deals....

Modrow: ...This is how you see the matter. I proceed from the following fact: The man has a great number of

contacts in the FRG. He was the one who organized loans. Thus, it is completely clear that we have to adapt to such a future also concerning the structures that we will need for this.

DER SPIEGEL: May we tax your imagination further? At the end of such a community of treaties and in the transition to a confederation, must there not be the question about the withdrawal of the two German states from their respective alliance systems?

Modrow: Mikhail Gorbachev spoke at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg and presented his ideas about a European home. He showed that he was thinking very far ahead, and that he proceeds from the premise that in this European home, states with different social systems can exist without the situation being unpeaceful as a result. As we are now speaking about a confederation—and this word was used in the People's Chamber, my party's general secretary used it—I would like to point out that this topic already existed between the two German states in the past.

DER SPIEGEL: At the end of the 1950's, the beginning of the 1960's.

Modrow: Yes, and this was an opportunity that was missed at that time.

DER SPIEGEL: Yes, we saw this in the same way.

Modrow: At that time, the GDR side was active, the FRG side was less so. For us a confederation is, first, the continuation of a way of thinking that has already existed once—not a new invention.

DER SPIEGEL: But now the questions are topical again.

Modrow: Of course, these are questions that also play a role in the talks between Gorbachev and Bush, since they are linked with Europe, with the situation of the socialist states in the future.

DER SPIEGEL: Have you written something down for Gorbachev for the Malta meeting?

Modrow: The contact is not such that something is written down. But of course, it is the case that the Soviet Union naturally involves and includes its allies in such preparations on principle. It is also clear that the Soviet Union will brief us immediately after the meeting.

DER SPIEGEL: Can you imagine the FRG taking over some sort of sponsorship for a membership, partial membership, or association of the GDR in the EC?

Modrow: These would be questions, which, I think, would have to play a role already in the stage of the community of treaties, so that with a look toward the EC we also see our economic development in a broader sense. Today it is not a secret: The Hungarians are already in Strasbourg and go to Brussels, the Poles and others are trying to do so. In this connection, it is not an exceptional situation that the socialist states orient themselves toward this in their bilateral relations. I could imagine that in a community of treaties with the FRG, we will also orient ourselves toward this.

DER SPIEGEL: Soon we will have free travel between the FRG and the GDR. We have many holes in the Berlin Wall, which are slowly making Berlin one city again. If we no longer rule out that the two German states leave their alliance systems, if we can assume that the GDR will perhaps use the sponsorship of the FRG to be accepted into the EC—then what is still missing for re-establishing German unity?

Modrow: Here I would like to say first of all: If you put the topic on the table....

DER SPIEGEL: Here, there it is.

Modrow: ...Then I say: The term reunification will not be the term for the future.

DER SPIEGEL: Okay, let us eliminate the prefix "re." Your national anthem also says: "Germany, united fatherland," until 1974 the reunification was also a command of the GDR Constitution.

Modrow: Reunification, as it is discussed in the FRG on the rightist side today, is associated with the borders of 1937. If I look at the latest publications, which say that Middle Germany is closer to East Germany than West Germany, then, according to this way of thinking, we are sitting in the middle and East Germany is beyond the Polish border.

DER SPIEGEL: You are quoting a minority opinion, which is perhaps advocated by the Republicans or by the associations of expellees.

Modrow: No, no, we do not want to limit and play this down so much. Thus, if you trust your own publications....

DER SPIEGEL: We add the Christian Social Union and some managers with their desires for annexation.

Modrow: In any case, it is such a great amount and so clear that it is not ignored in the Polish People's Republic. And if that one thing happens, then Austria could be added, too—then this would be a new Greater Germany.

DER SPIEGEL: Objection, your honor! We are not talking about the Anschluss.

Modrow: Therefore, I say very clearly: If such a view is developing, then only a solution within the present borders can come about and nothing else. And no reunification.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, Germany not within the borders of 1937 but within the borders of 1989?

Modrow: Exactly. As I said, if a confederation shows such paths and is embedded in the development in Europe, one can think about it.

DER SPIEGEL: Is it conceivable that Premier Modrow will hold a referendum on the future in the GDR—whether it closely associates itself with the FRG or decides for state unity?

Modrow: Until we have dealt thoroughly with the people's present opinion, one should not look for new topics; because at the moment we have only politicians in these movements who think that policy is made by asking a new question every day and not dealing with any matters in depth. I understand governing and policy in such a way that I have to deal in depth with a matter that I have started. I have to measure it so that one acquires an increased awareness—an understanding of the next steps. How else do we want to deal with each other?

DER SPIEGEL: That is why we are asking; because we, like you, have noticed that for the first time the German question has suddenly appeared on banners at the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig. This is not a coincidence.

Modrow: You are right in saying that in the FRG there are small groups who say this and that. Now you have seen a banner in our country. But you cannot deduce from this that this is the people's voice.

DER SPIEGEL: Are you holding opinion polls?

Modrow: There are opinion polls. Eighty percent of those polled were for a socialist GDR.

DER SPIEGEL: Before the unification of the two German states takes place, may we ask something simpler: When will the compulsory visas for FRG citizens be abolished and when will the minimum exchange of money be abolished?

Modrow: These are things that I would like to discuss with the FRG chancellor. You must always keep in mind that we have certain interests in these things; for the GDR a certain amount of money depends on the minimum exchange.

DER SPIEGEL: How much do you earn now?

Modrow: If I remember the figures correctly, revenues amount to about 300 million [currency not specified]. And now all this is integrated for us into the overall package, which could be negotiated between the GDR Government and the FRG Government.

DER SPIEGEL: When will the FRG chancellor come?

Modrow: He has not yet specified the final date.

DER SPIEGEL: Well, he cannot come before the party congress.

Modrow: He could, but he did not want to.

DER SPIEGEL: But this is understandable.

Modrow: I proceed from the fact: He did not want to—which I do understand. However, we assume that he will still visit before the end of the year.

DER SPIEGEL: Have you already had a telephone conversation?

Modrow: Not me. So far, telephone conversations have taken place between the FRG chancellor and the State Council chairman.

DER SPIEGEL: Who is the partner in the talks with Mr Kohl: Mr Krenz or you?

Modrow: At the moment, we are both partners in the talks on the GDR side and the FRG chancellor speaks for your side.

DER SPIEGEL: Is there any rivalry between you and the general secretary?

Modrow: I am not a person for rivalries.

DER SPIEGEL: Who determines policy guidelines in this country—the general secretary or the premier?

Modrow: If the issues are the things that are implemented as government policy in this country, this is the business of the coalition government. I will always have to settle basic questions in talks with the coalition parties.

DER SPIEGEL: And there the SED is only one party among others.

Modrow: Yes, there the SED is one party.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, what is Mr Krenz's business at the German- German negotiation table?

Modrow: He is the chairman of the GDR State Council.

DER SPIEGEL: Will Mr Krenz survive the special party congress in mid-December?

Modrow: No one of us knows today what will result from this party congress. I, too, am facing a party congress, which I cannot assess and evaluate in all questions in advance.

DER SPIEGEL: We have the impression that this is a gigantic race between the people and the government. First, the people demanded free crossing of the borders—the borders were opened; then free elections—the SED promised them; then the abolition of the leading role of the SED—Article 1 of the Constitution—and you are following suit. And now we hear the frst calls: "Germany, united fatherland." Can you actually keep up with this race, and can you win it?

Modrow: You are right that such a race exists. It exists not only in the GDR, but now we see that a similar situation also exists in other socialist states. In this race a movement has developed in which everyone is understandably struggling for trust. And now one must make

others, who are struggling for trust, understand in time that they must accept responsibility.

DER SPIEGEL: To put it clearly: The SED has made a mess of it all and now everyone should help to clear up the mess. What were the reasons for the wrong developments in the GDR? Were these developments the consequences of the system or is the crisis only an operational accident?

Modrow: Now, it is not an operational accident. It involves more profound questions; however, in some fields we are only at the beginning of the analyses. These are problems that have to be looked for in the social structure and in the social system. It is not only a question of changing one article of the Constitution, but it is a question of an entire new concept.

DER SPIEGEL: But what is wrong? You have a sophisticated planned-economy system....

Modrow: ...Oh, well. We did not have a sophisticated, but an oversophisticated system. Now we are sitting here....

DER SPIEGEL: ...And desophisticated.

Modrow: Precisely. And we have to find out what has to be disentangled. Of course, we have to keep one thing in mind—and this is the problem: We cannot simply—to use a bookkeeping term —make a final entry in the books and say, well, now we can start from scratch again.

DER SPIEGEL: Okay, but one has to know what will be at the end of the reforms so that one can construct the transition.

Modrow: This is true.

DER SPIEGEL: And what is the end? A market economy or a socialist economy with market-economy characteristics?

Modrow: To define the matter, the beginning has been made in a certain way. In this respect, I can go back to my government declaration: There we formulated certain targets for a socialist economy. If I think on the scale of your large companies—and there are many of them, I do not want to refer to anyone, in particular not after the visit I paid to the FRG ....

DER SPIEGEL: ...To Stuttgart.

Modrow: ...It is very well known that on this scale work is impossible without a planned concept. An economic unit of this scale needs this. It will not be possible for us to work with economic units—combines—which have 60,000 or 70,000 employees or 30,000 to 40,000, without any planning in them.

DER SPIEGEL: But it is an enormous difference whether the state is the planning authority, which issues orders for everything to this enterprise, or whether the enterprise plans itself—the enterprise, which, in the end, naturally has to take into consideration the regulating properties of the market, because otherwise it functions badly.

Modrow: Precisely, and this is point where I speak of a transition. It is impossible to abolish something from today to tomorrow. The state is in a situation that I cannot get out of. At the same time, I must take the step to give the combines a completely different independence so that they can be effective and work on the market in a different way than so far.

DER SPIEGEL: But you must expose these combines to the market.

Modrow: This is true.

DER SPIEGEL: However, if you listen to your new friends in the FRG, who are now streaming toward you, you have to introduce a market economy here; otherwise it will not work. This is what FRG scientists say. What does Modrow say?

Modrow: Forget about the new friends; this is not true in this way. Modrow says that he proceeds from the premise that we have to build an economy that is oriented toward the market. We do not have any other way. And Modrow believes that the concepts of people's ownership, mixed ownership, joint ventures, and what else we are offering today, are feasible and possible.

DER SPIEGEL: For a transition period or forever?

Modrow: First of all, we need experiments in this field. This cannot be avoided, but we offer every security.

DER SPIEGEL: In your government statement you call for "socialist entrepreneurial spirit." What is this?

Modrow: The combines must be able to orient themselves toward the market in a different way, and this requires entrepreneurial spirit. At what cost? The first question must be: What profit do I achieve? And not as to date: Here I have a plan with certain targets, and if I manage the slalom through the big network of these figures, I have achieved something—this must be ended.

DER SPIEGEL: But if your management acts in the way it should in your view, does it not then need a private owner, who has the producer goods and takes care that his management works in an economically efficient way and is mindful of the market?

Modrow: I think that this is not necessary. Take Austria as an example. Take other states as an example.

DER SPIEGEL: The example of Austria's nationalized industry is not a good example.

Modrow: Okay, but I would like to say: Not everything has gone wrong.

DER SPIEGEL: We will tell this to Kreisky and Vranitzky.

Modrow: In this connection, I also think of Japan. Even under the conditions of private ownership there, the people are integrated into the central question of market orientation: I must produce quality, I cannot go on the market without quality and I cannot sell anything without quality. This is the philosophy that I have seen at Sharp, at Toshiba, and at the other companies. Under our social conditions, we have to ask all the more whether this is not possible since the enterprise is the property of the people and belongs to those who work in it. You may say that these are dreams and ideals. However, I think that even a head of government cannot do without dreams and ideals.

DER SPIEGEL: Well, even this Japanese economy, which indeed is probably the most efficient in the world, is based on private ownership of producer goods.

Modrow: Correct. But the GDR has a good chance, because here a socialist economy has been established that—despite all open questions—is efficient; it has a good standing among the socialist states, which cannot be overlooked. This is our chance.

DER SPIEGEL: If you want to introduce market elements and also want to get your combines accustomed to this, you have to introduce free prices. If you introduce free prices, then the subsidized prices have to be abolished. And this will give you even more gray hairs than you already have.

Modrow: I could hand this back: When two gray-haired people discuss something.

DER SPIEGEL: The people see themselves facing a freer economy and assume that this will bring only advantages. However, you have to come and tell them: First, you will have disadvantages. Staple foods will be more expensive, rents will rise. If necessary, I will have to carry out a currency reform—we do not know, whether you will do it. These are tough matters.

Modrow: All these are questions that have so far not been put into our direct, immediate concept. As regards subsidies, we will, first of all, not abolish everything. This will not be done in any field.

DER SPIEGEL: Not even for cut flowers?

Modrow: We will start with cut flowers. The issue is that part in which the citizens, in particular the older citizen, needs the feeling of social security. Thus: We will not start with foodstuffs.

DER SPIEGEL: But you will have to quadruple rents in order to meet the demand for repairs of houses at a minimum level. Can something like this really be implemented in a democratic process, in process of finding a consensus?

Modrow: A quadrupling of rents is impossible. However, in this respect, too, I proceed from the premise that the problem of rents will be discussed by the people at length. We will proceed with calm and in stages; however, in this respect, too, we will make sure that the changes will not be carried out at the cost of families with many children.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you not have to expect that, if you try to introduce a real market economy, this might lead to unemployment?

Modrow: First of all, I proceed from the premise that we do not have enough labor, and, therefore, working people from other countries are employed here.

DER SPIEGEL: Above all, because productivity is so low in your country.

Modrow: You give me the prompt, but, first of all, this is a fact. The question was: What will this look like tomorrow? If I could say that we go—to continue in my athletic way—to the springboard and, without taking a run, we jump upward and have the necessary labor productivity, this would be beautiful, of course. But as an economist I am well aware of the fact that this needs time.

DER SPIEGEL: You have an enormous administrative apparatus, which contains a reservoir of labor. "Stasi [State Security Service] into production," the people are calling.

Modrow: You heard that the head of the National Security Office already said that 8,000 people less will be employed in his field.

DER SPIEGEL: Of a total of how many?

Modrow: I must tell you frankly: You are overtaxing a new man. I have to ask about the figures. Here sits a man who has been in office for 2 and ½ weeks.

DER SPIEGEL: The party apparatus also has to be reduced. What can be saved in this respect?

Modrow: In this connection, too, one has to see the social problem. One cannot simply work against people who have done their duty for years. Everything needs a transitional period. But I proceed from the premise that in my former sphere of work in Dresden, 50 percent will probably be the measure of things.

DER SPIEGEL: In general? Also for the other bezirks?

Modrow: In the party, yes. In the state apparatus I do not see reductions of this scope.

DER SPIEGEL: Saving and reducing. There is the question of a currency devaluation [Waehrungsschnitt], which is raised every day in the West Berlin exchange offices.

Modrow: The currency question is, indeed, a joint problem.

DER SPIEGEL: A joint problem?

Modrow: Because here the FRG and the GDR have a common interest. How does the FRG chancellor really think about these things—from the talks with Mr Seiters one could get only questions but no direct ideas or concepts.

At the moment, intensive work is under way in this field. Before the meeting with the FRG chancellor takes place, work is to be done in the most varied fields at the ministerial level. In this the GDR State Bank and the FRG Bundesbank are to be included.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, the issue is a currency devaluation?

Modrow: Today we have not reached the point where we take this into direct consideration. At the moment, we have a situation in the GDR where two things happen: Money is withdrawn from accounts and it is also paid into accounts. Thus, the people do trust in the currency.

DER SPIEGEL: With your government statement you gave a guarantee that the savings accounts will not be reduced.

Modrow: Precisely, and we intend to act trustingly with this trust.

DER SPIEGEL: But can the economist do this? He sees the enormous surplus in purchasing power.

Modrow: We have had this surplus in purchasing power for quite some time. This is a fact.

DER SPIEGEL: Would you give the same promise to the savers once again today?

Modrow: First of all, I would proceed from the fact that I have to keep a promise and that I will not say anything else in this interview.

DER SPIEGEL: However, will it be possible to avoid a devaluation—now after you have opened the borders? Is it possible to live with a non-convertible GDR currency in the long run?

Modrow: Of course, what can be done and must be done in the long run are questions that we are facing, because we have to consider two sides as far as our currency is concerned, the Eastern side and the Western side. Therefore, this problem, too, will not be a question that will be decided by Christmas.

DER SPIEGEL: Many people in the FRG think that it is now time to use the elan of the changes for radical reforms.

Modrow: I know how the GDR is seen from the FRG viewpoint. However, we have to take the following into account: In the country there are political forces who also want to participate. The people of New Forum are starting to think about economic reforms. This was also the issue at the Central Executive Committee session of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany over the weekend [25-26 November]. Everybody is articulating in a new way, and everybody is asking new questions. It will be necessary for us to meet again in the coalition and to come to an understanding about this.

Other forces also have ideas. If we now begin to increase the speed from which they start, tomorrow the next one will come and say: We are not included, our ideas and our considerations are left out.

DER SPIEGEL: Are you a transition premier or a long-term head of government?

Modrow: I think that a long-term premier sat in my chair for 25 years. Now I must say: If I assume an office shortly before I turn 62, I must know how long I can do my work. This is the first thing. The second is: Of course, I proceed from the premise that a time limit is set for me for this responsibility at first. This will be the date of the next elections.

DER SPIEGEL: When will this be?

Modrow: I proceed from the premise that we should not do something like this before autumn 1990, for two reasons: The citizen has to have the opportunity to study and examine the established forces in the process of their new way of thinking and their new considerations, and there must also be the opportunity for the new forces to establish themselves.

DER SPIEGEL: Above all, the SED has to get out of its crisis of trust.

Modrow: This is what I said in the first part.

DER SPIEGEL: What do you think, what percent would you get if elections were held on Sunday?

Modrow: Well, it is not a big secret any more since the GDR sociologists have spoken up. They spoke of about 19 to 20 percent.

DER SPIEGEL: Can you imagine being in a situation after the elections in which you are either the junior partner of a coalition government or even in opposition?

Modrow: We have the chance of being able to be the junior partner in any case.

DER SPIEGEL: Did you say "junior partner"? This takes one's breath away. Who is the senior partner, in your view?

Modrow: This will be shown. I think that this can hardly be predicted at the moment. I do not think that a majority will be established immediately after the elections in the GDR. It will be a multiparty scene. This can already be seen today. There are five parties. And the discussion is under way: How will things continue, will the current groups stay in the People's Chamber, will others be added? Well, we would probably end up with 15 groups. You can count: If the cake is distributed among 15 parties—who will then have the famous 51 percent?

DER SPIEGEL: But you will permit the other social forces as soon as they have constituted themselves?

Modrow: This process is still under way. Basically, it legalizes itself on its own.

DER SPIEGEL: So far your party has avoided any statement that is as specific as yours, that, for instance, New Forum or the GDR's Social Democratic Party [SDP] will indeed be admitted in line with the election law at the next elections.

Modrow: If one goes to the roundtable, one goes with partners to a roundtable who make political claims. And this is my starting point. What and how much they claim is a question that will be decided in the democratic life of our country. I think that this cannot be predicted at the moment. In this respect, I live with a bit of responsibility that I have to bear; because I think that the SED has taken a qualitatively new step in the process of renewal. For the first time in this country, I took over a true coalition government—in true coalition talks and negotiations.

DER SPIEGEL: Well, but the SED kept all important ministerial posts that contain even a morsel of power.

Modrow: No, I would not say so.

DER SPIEGEL: Interior Ministry and Foreign Ministry, finances, economy, education, up to the National Security Office. In total, the SED still keeps 17 posts out of 28.

Modrow: Look, we want to look at this from another point of view. I have three deputies. One is responsible for working with—as you would say—the laender, that is, in our country with the bezirks. This provides an opportunity....

DER SPIEGEL: But no power.

Modrow: Do not underestimate the opportunities contained in this. I have a deputy who is dealing with church matters—which is unprecedented—and who thus also demonstrates a new situation in our government. But if you take the term of power in a narrower sense, then, of course, the ministerial offices you cited are filled by the SED.

DER SPIEGEL: According to our information, you wanted to give another sign and make Consistorial President Manfred Stolpe, a prominent church representative, your deputy.

Modrow: I see that you can naturally say "according to our information." This is a peculiarity in a talk with DER SPIEGEL. In this case, the situation was that Mr Stolpe was not disinclined, but that the church wanted to see him in the office that he fills there and not in another one. And then the Christian Democratic Union of Germany decided that its chairman himself would take over this function. I fully accepted this.

DER SPIEGEL: The SED has governed alone for 40 years. Now they are playing democracy?

Modrow: No, one does not play. I will also tell you about a direct, specific event, which is not just a game of democracy. I presented the government statement, which I made, to the SED at the same time as to the coalition parties. The mail went out, so to speak, to all five parties at the same time. This is new. I had negotiations to come to this government coalition. This was not a march in single file.

DER SPIEGEL: But the result was clear form the start.

Modrow: No, the result was not clear from the start. The result already changed when Guenther Maleuda was elected People's Chamber president and not Manfred Gerlach.

DER SPIEGEL: But it was never a question of one party withdrawing and going into opposition.

Modrow: If all parties agree that we all should not miss the chance for shaping socialism in the GDR, it must be possible to come together. I have to proceed from this premise.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you want to put a quota regulation into the election law, which provides the SED with a certain right to survival or significance, as in Poland?

Modrow: If you asked for my wishes, I would say: Yes, I would like this. But if I proceed from the real situation, I have to be sober. It will be an election law in which those forces that come to the roundtable participate. We will not have to discuss quotas but the real situation that will be caused by such an election law.

DER SPIEGEL: General, free, equal, and secret elections without a quota regulation.

Modrow: Precisely, these principles.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, the Polish train has left?

Modrow: What has happened in our country and the way it has started here is not the Polish model. If the term roundtable comes from Poland, this still is not the Polish model.

DER SPIEGEL: You could get a big boost in people's trust if you had the local elections of 7 May 1989 repeated.

Modrow: This is a way of thinking from the outside at the moment. In our country no one demands, at the moment, that we should do everything all at once. You must leave us some room so that we can think about our own varieties, about how we can deal most constructively with this situation. All these are questions that will certainly be discussed at the roundtable.

DER SPIEGEL: Would you think it conceivable that FRG parties might give organizational or political aid in some way or other, that the Social Democratic Party of

Germany [SPD], for instance, helps the SDP of the GDR, or the Western Christian Democratic Union helps the Eastern Christian Democratic Union of Germany?

Modrow: First of all, I proceed from the premise, that the SED has had and still has a dialogue with the SPD. I think that this dialogue has to be continued. I myself tried to do this in Stuttgart and I felt that this can be and should be done.

DER SPIEGEL: But the SPD seems to tend more toward the SDP at the moment.

Modrow: I think that we can hold the dialogue between the SED and the SPD in a constructive way on the new questions, and I hope that this will be done very soon.

DER SPIEGEL: Does the SED not have to think of whether to dissolve and found itself anew like the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party or whether to split into a communist and an SPD part?

Modrow: At the moment it is thinking of preparing an extraordinary party congress.

DER SPIEGEL: Is there really any sense in founding a communist party and a social democratic-socialist party again in order to get votes from a broader range of voters?

Modrow: The period from 1946 to 1989 has been too long to say that those who once joined together are now splitting up.

DER SPIEGEL: You rule this out?

Modrow: No, I do not rule this out. In particular there, there were many people who found their place in the current SED. Therefore, I say: It is not possible. They joined in the past, now they will not split up.

DER SPIEGEL: The SED is now trying to come to terms with its past at a breathtaking pace. One puts the blame on two or three scapegoats, expels them from the party, and pretends that thus everything is settled.

Modrow: No, this is not what we are planning. It is not a question of guilt, of putting the blame on certain people, and making the party appear to be immaculate. It is a fact that it has always been history's fundamental duty and objective to have an impact on the future. Thorough analysis must be followed by conclusions for the future.

DER SPIEGEL: After a sincere analysis of the situation there is only one conclusion: The party, which was responsible for the disastrous situation in the GDR, must go.

Modrow: No, this cannot be the conclusion. In a 2 million- member party that is in a process of settling a conflict within itself, and of coming to terms with conflicts, in such a party there have been hundreds of thousands of honest people.

DER SPIEGEL: Well, but the concept of the party has obviously not yielded the expected results.

Modrow: Yet surely one cannot say that we have not achieved certain results in the past 40 years. The fact that the GDR exists has been universally acknowledged.

DER SPIEGEL: The fact that the GDR no longer functions has also been universally acknowledged.

Modrow: Yes, but this was viewed in differing ways, because otherwise you would not be conducting this interview here with me.

DER SPIEGEL: The opposition has proposed to eliminate the State Council and to hold presidential elections.

Modrow: This is not just the opposition's view.

DER SPIEGEL: Can you imagine that you will once be president of the GDR?

Modrow: I imagine that I have a position that is difficult to fulfill, and in which I will work as hard as I can as long as I have it.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr Premier, thank you very much for this interview.

Pozsgay Interview on Foreign Troops, Reform

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[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, Hungarian Socialist Party presidium member, by Alain Duhamel, Genevieve Moll, Albert du Roy, and Dmitriy Yakushkin of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI; from the "Hour of Truth" program presented by Francois-Henri de Virieu; Pozsgay speaks in Hungarian with translation into French—live in studio]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted on introductory material] [Duhamel] Good evening, Mr Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] Good evening, sir.

[Duhamel] Mr Adamec, who is the prime minister of Czechoslovakia, has just said he hoped that the Soviet troops would evacuate Czechoslovakia. Would you like Soviet troops to leave Hungary?

[Pozsgay] Yes, I would like that. I would like the foreign troops to leave Hungarian territory, but I think that the two countries are in a different situation: It was at the time of the Brezhnev doctrine in 1968 in Czechoslovakia that Soviet troops burst into the country; they had not been there before. The Warsaw Pact had made other arrangements for Hungary. I think that the initiatives taken to date are encouraging and that the Soviet troops will leave Hungarian territory on the basis of negotiations—the armament reduction negotiations in Vienna—and I think this will also be the case for Europe.

[Duhamel] When do you think they will leave Hungarian territory?

[Pozsgay] I think it will be in 2 or 3 years—that is, if other developments obviously do not upset the direction disarmament has notably taken in Malta; on the territory of (?our) country there are only conventional weapons and the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armaments are also dealing with those weapons. Gorbachev and Bush have been negotiating over them in the past few days. I am confident there will be a positive development.

[Duhamel] Would you like Hungary to remain within the Warsaw Pact or else in the end, for example in 5 years time, would you like it to become a neutral country?

[Pozsgay] I can imagine such a development, but it is perhaps not a dream to think of the military blocs ceasing to exist in Europe, and I believe that until then the Warsaw Pact and NATO will have to, are going to divest themselves of their military content. I have in mind a time when the USSR will only care about one single thing—that of not being surrounded by enemy countries. This depends on the settlement of affairs in Europe, the whole of Europe. Hungary makes its decisions in a sovereign way. This year we resumed diplomatic relations with Israel. Remember, we were the first to dismantle the Iron Curtain and just think that we gave the freedom of circulation to refugees from the GDR.

[Duhamel] Mr Pozsgay, are you convinced that Mikhail Gorbachev will allow the process of democratization or of democracy to be established definitively in Hungary, right to the end?

[Pozsgay] Mr Gorbachev will certainly act in that direction. Hungary has no other path to choose than that of democracy right to the end. At the same time I would not like our democracy to be subjected to fluctuations, to the schemes of the superpowers: We would like to create a situation of reaching a point of no return where the making or unmaking of circumstances should not, should no longer influence that situation.

[Duhamel] And if Mr Gorbachev were forced, in spite of himself, to relinquish power in the USSR in 6 months or 2 years time, do you think that there would at that time be a risk of Hungary being normalized?

[Poszgay] It would be very bad if Mr Gorbachev were to have to give up power. He is the greatest guarantee of the continuation of perestroyka; at the same time, I think that, to speak about what I have just said, the constitutional institutions in any case are going to be so stable that such a turn of events will no longer be able to have an influence on them. I am confident that such a development—in which freedom will persevere—will persist in Hungary.

[Duhamel] In two words, Mr Pozsgay, do you consider Mikhail Gorbachev to be a sincere democrat?

[Pozsgay] I think he is a sincere democrat. I can clarify the question by referring to two things apart from his work—his tolerance and his understanding of the problems of individuals and men. Another explanation is that he recognizes that the USSR in its current form and in its current political structure is not an efficient society and is threatened by marginalization, and even though he may be of a good Soviet patriot, he also has to be a good democrat.

[Duhamel] In a few words, in substance, do you think that Mikhail Gorbachev is also a sincere communist?

[Pozsgay] Mr de Virieu noted the path I have taken—the Road to Damascus which we have all crossed, upon which we have all traveled: That Road to Damascus signifies a conversion, but it does not mean at all that anyone has lost faith. Gorbachev certainly must have started out as a sincere communist, but he is confronted by the fact that the Bolshevik system of ideas, which carried a message and which wanted to bring about a wish for the whole of society, no longer works. If he wants to see his homeland happy, he has to move in that direction.

[Duhamel] If we pick up both questions, to your mind is it possible to be a sincere democrat and a sincere communist at the same time?

[Pozsgay] I think it is possible; it also depends on the internal structure of the personality, of the internal convictions of the person in question but one must acknowledge one fact: Communism bears a promise but it is allied to (?utopian) ideas, which would like to make

a paradise on earth, to create a paradise on earth. Democratic socialism is a universe of values which respects the freedom of an individual, solidarity among men, respects the protection of the weak and at the same time does not condemn the internal motivations of an individual. Thus I think that democratic socialism is a universe of values which may have a future.

[Duhamel] So if it is possible to be a sincere democrat and a sincere communist at the same time, why did you—who was a sincere communist and who is certainly a sincere democrat—think it was necessary to become a socialist and replace the communist party with a Socialist Party?

[Pozsgay] Because I am an experienced man, I have not spared myself. I have digested all my experiences and I have changed my ideas and my thinking when those real-life experiences convinced me: I never lingered about and I was also inclined to take conflicts on board. No change can be considered as sincere if it is directed by conformity. I believe that among the communists there must be, there can be, many sincere democrats: One respects democracy up to the point where one can elaborate these ideas from within. And a European universe of values should be taken on board by sincere communists. [passage omitted]

[Duhamel] There are several theories concerning the motives or explanations for those who in the East today reject communism. It may be due to patriotism, it may be because of bad living standards, it may be because of a taste for freedom. For you, which is the most important among these three motives?

[Pozsgay] The taste for freedom and the taste for democracy, the recognition of efficiency and an aspiration to efficiency. That the right of self-determination of the citizen should be reestablished in civilian society, this is an idea which was born here, it has just been celebrated in France—the bicentenary has just been celebrated. Perhaps we shall again find the correct way.

[Duhamel] In Hungary do you not only hope, but are you confident that there can be a true complete democracy, that is a multiparty system, change of power, the rules of law, religious freedom, etc, all together. Do you feel that all this can be accepted, digested by society as it is today?

[Pozsgay] It seems we can digest it. The experience up to now is positive. There is a certain fear in society due to the grand spring cleaning that the political parties are conducting. This has a dissonant sound in Hungary. In the United States, no one is troubled by the fact that someone might want to be cast in stone, but it is a sublimated phrase. When you say this in Hungary, everyone starts getting worried, because the phrase is taken seriously. We have historical experiences which seem to confirm this statement. Allow me to say, all the same, that this political struggle, which is being conducted publicly, leads to the crystallization of the political parties. Parliamentary democracy will be created, and this parliamentary democracy is not the only way of making laws, is not the only way to salvation, but we cannot find a better one. [passage omitted]

[Duhamel] In your opinion, what left the worst memory in Hungary, was it Josef Stalin or Franz Josef of Austro-Hungary?

[Pozsgay] Stalin without doubt. [passage omitted]

[Moll] A question from Nice. What will you do, Mr Pozsgay, to see that the present liberation in Hungary does not permit the rebirth of anti-Semitism, as in 1956? [passage omitted]

[Pozsgay] It is not probable that events similar to the events in 1956 could happen again. I should add to that the fact that what happened in Hungary is unprecendented, that is we peacefully transferred from a dictatorial to a socialist system, through compromise, with the existing authorities in place. We succeeded in creating new institutions and declaring the new republic. This shows that passions concerning society are not dominated by upsurges and nationalism takes over.

I must say, regarding the Jewish issue, that the largest community in Central Europe lives in Hungary, there are about 100,000 of them, this is the figure I know. I hope they will continue to be in future, as they are now, the creative people of Hungary, and that they will contribute to the culture of this country, to its enrichment, and that they will live their identity openly in the way they choose. And let each one choose the way. I do not think, thus, that a way of thinking that would be likely to harm any ethnic group or any culture in Hungary could assume dominance.

[Moll] There are many questions on Transylvania. What do you intend to do, Mr Minister, for the Hungarian minority in Transylvania who are systematically persecuted by the Ceausescu regime?

[Pozsgay] I could ask my own question. What can Europe do against violated law that has been established in Romania, what can the world do faced with the challenge made against human rights in Transylvania, and throughout Romania? I think that Hungary is doing what it can. It is making this problem public, it is talking about it. Hungary is taking in the refugees, it shares the feelings of the refugees, and beyond solidarity, it is with work and with the way of shaping their way of life that Hungary contributes to their fate. In addition, insofar as it can, Hungary includes the international agencies in this action.

Europe and the whole world must understand that this is not a problem between Hungary and Romania. It is not a battle between two countries, but the issue is that human rights are not respected in a European country which will soon become an impenetrable autarchic prison. It is only by risking their lives that people can escape, and a sizeable proportion of the refugees coming from Romania are not of Hungarian origin, but of Romanian origin. This shows that today being Romanian is a bad thing, and this is doubly true for the minorities in Romania. I hope that world attention and

the contribution of the Hungarians will help to solve this problem. Only the Romanian people can solve this problem.

[De Virieu] If there were a change of regime in Romania, you would not make any territorial claim to change the borders to recover Transylvania, where 2-3 million Hungarians live?

[Pozsgay] We know what territorial claims mean in Europe. I think that in Hungary the sober, aware political forces do not even raise this issue. I think that if Romania transforms itself into a state governed by law, then the borders would more be spiritual, symbolic. It would be a bit similar to what is happening in Western Europe as a situation. I hope that we will be able to go by car on the motorways beween two countries without noticing it in the same way as you go between two provinces. Thus it is not an issue of borders, it is an issue of human rights, of people, individuals, and the rights of minorities, which is dealt with differently in a country governed by law than under a tyranny. [passage omitted]

[Yakushkin] Mr Pozsgay, how did you react when Prime Minister Imre Nagy was hanged in 1958? What was your reaction as a man?

[Pozsgay] I felt it was a tragic event. But, at the same time, as I did not know all the documents and everything that was behind it, it was implied that these persons, Nagy and his associates, had committed atrocities. That is the fate which was reserved for them in Europe. But in the course of the past years, when I had the mission to discover all that period, I had to put an end likewise to the mistake I had made in the evaluation of that period. [passage omitted]

[Yakushkin] What do you most regret in your political past?

[Pozsgay] My mistakes. But without these mistakes, perhaps I would not have been able to have the enlightenment that I have. Of course, there is a kind of curse upon me, which is that I can not bear dishonest politics. [passage omitted] I have always tried to weigh things on the basis of the available information. And what I did not realize earlier on was that there were errors in the information passed on to me. [passage omitted]

I have not retraced my steps, I have not left the road of democracy and reform, not even in the period of the turnabout. All the more was I ignored, moved aside, moved to one side, which is what was happening at that time in Hungary. Of course it was the consequence of the political struggles of the time. That is what has led me to the recognition of a new scale of socialist values. To the fact, in particular, that this regime can not be reformed with an economic rationalization. And even to the ultimate conclusion that one can not reform this regime, one has to transform it. That is what happened in Hungary in the fall.

[Yakushkin] You have been a director of the Marxist-Leninist Institute. There is a question which interests me and which still interests Soviet people. What is the difference between theory and practice. There are those in our country who say that the theory of constructing a new society was good but the practice was bad. There were mistakes committed by certain leaders. In your opinion was it the fault of the theory or the practice, or both at once?

[Pozsgay] For a long time I also stuck to the idea that everything was okay with the theory and that only practice was faulty. But after numerous turnabouts, after having gone round and round this question, it turned out that there are problems with the theory as well. Marxism, which was born in the last century, and which I consider to be an extremely important system of thought, has given identity to the working class, it enabled social pressure to be exerted. And I think that without it a state of providence could not have appeared, could not have been born, in Europe. At the same time, since it gave rise to arbitrariness and to totalitarian systems, one can not acccept it piecemeal. [passage omitted]

[Yakushkin] What kind of society do you aim for today? Do you have a model or in principle today is it outdated to speak about any kind of model? Is there perhaps a particular model in Western Europe? Is there a society that stands closer to you?

[Pozsgay] There is—one can find such a model. Even if we know perfectly well how many problems the market economy comprises, how many tensions accompany it in the social domain, the economic problems. But that reminds me of the fact that we have had the opposite experience. Because we had been promised that such phenomena would not happen. From my reading I recall that Shakespeare and Balzac described the frightening situation produced by the markets and by money. We have found that there could be one thing even more diabolic, namely, a situation in which there is no market and there is no money. Thus, we have to adapt our (?present) socioeconomic attitude. But at the same time we have to attenuate the laws of the jungle, which prevail if there is no social control, and which lead to a disequilibrium of society. [passage omitted]

[Yakushkin] You have said Hungary today needs markets. It seems to me, from what I have read of your economic documents, they speak little about—if I am not mistaken—they speak little about social security, about the protection of people. They say there is misery in Hungary today, that there are poor; they say there will be more unemployed tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. In my opinion they speak very little about this social security. Is this true, or is this even your aim?

[Pozsgay] Nowadays they speak more and more about it. It is precisely the trade unions, their struggle with the government, which shows, indicates, how significant these problems have become for the country and for the whole nation. I have to say one thing, however. In

Hungary at present the number of unemployed, compared to the total number of employed, represents between 0.5 and 1.0 percent. So, these figures are not frightening and the proportions are therefore not frightening either. [passage omitted]

[Yakushkin] As far as social measures are concerned, if we take France, the history of France, for example, they were the fruit of the opposition movement, of the movement of the left. The Communist Party contributed a great deal. Can one envisage, in the decades to come, in Hungary, the creation, for example, of a communist party, in 3 or 4 decades, for instance?

[Pozsgay] I think one will not have to wait so long. The party that has been considered a communist party, and whose denomination was Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, is in the process of reorganizing itself. I think this party will have many members, numerous adherents who have found themselves on the outside of the new power and who believe they must continue their party in a successor party. There has to be a right for them to do so; that is also a part of the law on associations and political parties, which we have adopted. As far as I am concerned, I think they are wrong. So, they are faced with a schizophrenic situation. But such a party is already in the process of forming itself in Hungary, which once again, I believe, authenticates the experience we have had in having formed a new party which does not think in a conservative way.

[Yakushkin] This question is also connected with the Soviet Union. One speaks a great deal about the brakes being put on [on the process of reforms]. In all the Eastern countries where there are reforms, they talk about the brakes being put on, particularly by the conservatives, the apparatchiks. What will you do with these people? They put on the brakes, but they are, they constitute, a part of society.

[Pozsgay] In our country the proportions were not like the ones in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union 18 million people formed part of the nomenclature [nomenklatura]. In Hungary at present the apparatus of the Socialist Party represents about one-fifth of the staff of the previous party. As most of them, I mean those who have left, had their own jobs, they were decent people; they have already found other jobs according to their profession, their qualifications. Unfortunately we already have experiences showing that in numerous workplaces they are given a prejudiced reception. Thus, there is a certain fear among them, but I think we will manage to overcome these difficulties and the resistance of the apparatus is minimal in Hungary.

[De Virieu] Now, over to Albert du Roy, head of the editorial board of L'EXPANSION. [passage omitted]

[Du Roy] Does German economic power, does the prospect of German reunification, worry you?

[Pozsgay] I would say rather that it perplexes me. Not only were the Hungarians not prepared for what has happened in the GDR and in Germany in particular. [sentence as heard] It is an unexpected development. We like to make plans, we like to exercise our imagination, and everybody thought that first of all a united Europe would be created, a free and democratic Europe, which, with a great amount of cohesion, with a great amount of solidarity, would help the Germans to return to self-determination. It appears that German history has brought forward this process. I believe that for a long time one will not be able to question the reality of the two Germanies. I have the feeling that even in Malta...

[Du Roy, interrupting] For a long time? For how long? Because German reunification does not only worry Hungary; it worries others as well. Do you see the two Germanies being maintained for a very long time? For, I do not know, another 20 years, 30 years?

[Pozsgay] I cannot give you figures. [passage omitted] For me one thing is important, that the self-determination of the Germans is becoming a reality; the first step will probably be a confederation.

[Du Roy] Let us come back to the economic problems. Just now Francois-Henri de Virieu used the term decolonization in connection with the Eastern countries. Does this term correspond to what is happening?

[Pozsgay] I did not react to the expression used by Mr Virieu; it was his idea. He thinks that it is a question of decolonization. But the entire history of the Soviet Union and of Eastern Europe must be restudied. When you think of the history of decolonization, one of its characteristics is that the center of the empire, even when it has problems, has become enriched by having had colonies. This is not the case with Soviet Union and its central parts. Rather, what happened is that, moved by a certain strategy, by a certain mission, they took even the shirt off their backs to preserve this unadaptable and inapplicable empire. I think the problem must be resolved by the Soviet Government and the Soviet people.

[Du Roy] If I talk about decolonization it is because I am trying to put myself in the shoes of a Hungarian citizen who is going to see the 50 biggest Hungarian enterprises privatized, and very probably bought by Western multinational companies. Does this not carry the danger of provoking a nationalist reaction?

[Pozsgay] Where would this not provoke such a reaction if every enterprise were bought by foreign entrepreneurs? I would say rather that certain patriotic sentiments and a certain nostalgia would be an epi-phenomenon of this process of selling off. If capital stays where it is, if it works, and brings about a technological renewal, one has to bear in mind, sadly, that in the course of the past 40 years we have not been able to resolve all our problems with our own strength.

[Du Roy] What will happen if after the privatizations, the purchase of these enterprises by the multinationals,

what will certainly happen is that unemployment in Hungary will rise very steeply. Will there not be a quasi-xenophobic reaction?

[Pozsgay] The reaction would be of a large scale if unemployment were also of a large scale. [passage omitted] In our country, in the tertiary sector and in services one could employ hundreds of thousands of people, because services are at a miserable level, with the exception of tourism where the standard is relatively acceptable. These services are subject to a large-scale shortage of workers. The first dramatic period could bring about difficulties of restructuring but not mass unemployment. [passage omitted]

[Du Roy] I would like to ask you a question about corruption. It is very active in the GDR; the communist militants are angry at what they discover behind the facade of the Communist Party. Does corruption exist in the Hungarian state and in the Communist Party, in other words in what is today the Socialist Party?

[Pozsgay] We have had experiences of corruption, which was far from reaching the proportions known in the GDR. [passage omitted] In my opinion, in the market place of corruption we appear in modest proportions. The difference is that where there is democratic public opinion, in the final analysis these cases of corruption are unmasked, whereas in a totalitarian system, such as in the GDR for example, one can keep corruption secret right to the end. I favor public opinion; I favor transparency [as heard]. [passage omitted]

[Du Roy] A last question: You are a candidate for Hungarian president. I wonder whether it is not rather a lost cause, when we see what happens elsewhere. The communist leaders in Czechoslovakia, in the GDR who converted to liberalism, are today in a difficult position. Will this not happen to you? When you said just now that it is my admitted mistakes which justify my candidacy, is this an argument which convinces Hungarians? Why should they trust someone who made so many mistakes?

[Pozsgay] The Hungarians do not trust my words; they trust what I do, my actions. There is no one on earth who is infallible, there were only one or two people who thought themselves to be, and we noted the danger of such a way of thinking. I persevere on my way, I could well be mistaken, but I will not lie all the same. Thus, I say what I think, obviously this does not exclude the errors.

Regarding my candidacy as president, I could not comment just now on the public opinion polls, but I was pleased to see that French viewers, who are not well acquainted with my life and career trusted me, 49 percent is a huge number against just over 30 percent. The truth is that Hungarians know what I do, and know I have always been ready to sacrifice myself, and not my fatherland, unlike those who realized the truth after the event. This is an advantage; this has been my experience. I would also add that Mr de Virieu was at my news conference in Budapest last Monday. He said gratitude is not a political attitude. Politicians who think that in the future they will get a vote of confidence through gratitude and as a bonus are idiots. I think that henceforth I will be able to do things to make me deserve this trust. Thus, I have great hope of continuing in this way, and obviously I control myself without harboring illusions. [passage omitted]

[Moll] Is there a place in the pluralist Republic of Hungary as you understand it today for an extreme-right party? [passage omitted]

[Pozsgay] In Hungary neither the Law on Associations nor the the Law on Parties permits the emergence of an extreme right party. The Penal Code has also been brought up to date in the human rights section. There are two articles that recognize political offences, that is, when there is racism, acts of racism, racist prejudice in Hungary, and incitement to racist hatred. The other article concerns incitement against religion. This is under the Penal Code. In Hungarian history there has never been an extreme right party which was not racist. Thus the law and the Constitution we adopted excludes such organizations being constituted. [passage omitted]

[De Virieu] Our next program is in January 1990, and the guest is Jacques Delors. Good night.

Grosz Says MSZMP Has 100,000 Members

LD0412192789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Report by Csaba Belenesi in Pecs]

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], which has now been legally founded, has nearly 100,000 members. In the Movement House in Pecs, some 500 people applauded this statement by Karoly Grosz. According to the Politician, a new leadership will be elected at the MSZMP Congress now being organized. They will enact the statute. However, there is not enough time for drafting a program declaration. For this reason, they must hold the 15th congress within 6 months of the 14th congress, at which the MSZMP's strategy will be worked out definitively.

Karoly Grosz gave a fairly lengthy analysis of the MSZMP's relationship with the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. In his view, they have many comrades among the socialists who joined this party to try and influence the leadership in a good direction from within. He has the view that the HSP members do not share Imre Pozsgay's opinion that the two parties cannot function together. On the contrary, it is the historical task of left-wing parties to make a joint stand against the right wing, because if that does not happen, then the adherents of socialism will give way at the elections to the forces of bourgeois restoration.

Speaking about the long-term cooperation of left-wing parties, Karoly Grosz said he does not consider it inconceivable that in time even the Hungarian Social Democratic Party might form an alliance with the HSP and the MSZMP.

Nemeth Meets Rakowski, Ryzhkov in Moscow

LD0412125589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Excerpts] In Moscow, Gorbachev is to inform his Warsaw Pact allies about the results of the Malta meeting. Gabor Izbekhi reports:

[Begin Izbekhi recording] [Passage omitted] Somewhat unexpectedly, Miklos Nemeth held a short meeting this morning with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, presumably to make up for the meeting which failed to materialize a few days ago in Budapest.

At 0900 Hungarian time, Nikolay Ryzhkov received the Hungarian head of state at the Kremlin. This was an unofficial prime ministerial talk. With the exception of one photographer, journalists were not allowed in—not even for the usual few minutes. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Nemeth, Ryzhkov View Economic Ties

LD0412160189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Gorbachev has briefed Warsaw Pact leaders on the Malta meeting. Details on this have not yet been released. Gahor Izbeki, our Moscow correspondent, reports on the Hungarian premier's talks this morning:

[Begin Izbeki recording] Miklos Nemeth proposed to Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov that the expected Hungarian disadvantages and Soviet advantages stemming from the changeover to world market prices and dollar accounting be shared by the two sides. At their talks this morning, the Hungarian premier said that our country has full interest in the development of a market-cooperation model between our countries, which is based on world market value relations. In connection with this, Miklos Nemeth handed Nikolay Ryzhkov a letter containing concrete proposals. Hungary now has a positive payments balance of R1 billion in goods exchange. According to calculations, after changing over to dollar accounting, Hungary would have a price loss in the 1st year of about $1.5 billion. [end recording]

Ceausescu 'Tyranny,' 'Police Terror' Viewed

AU0212182689 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 28 Nov 89 p 2

[Article by Tibor Posa: "Party Congress in Bucharest—Dark Night"]

[Text] When, in the 6th minute, the Danish forward Laudrup dribbled past all the Romanian defenders and passed the ball to Povlsen, who shot it into goalkeeper Lung's net without any particular trouble, the air froze in the Steaua Stadium in Bucharest. It seemed that the Romanian soccer team would have to kiss goodbye to the world soccer championship to be held in Italy next year. However, the Romanian team pulled themselves back from this position and pinned the Danish team to their goal as if the stakes were life or death rather than a game, and with the goals of their best players—Balint: two goals, and Szabo (Sabau): 1 goal—they were leading 3 to 1 by the 61st minute of the game.

Tragicomedy

With this "act of heroism," the Romanian soccer team has won a place in the finals of the soccer world championship again after 20 years. Never at a better time, chief coach Imre Jenei sighed, since precisely in these days the country was preparing for its big event: the opening of the 14th congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. The soccer success only increased the "feeling of firm unity." The favorable psychological effect was further enhanced by the fact that the Romanian team symbolically offered this soccer victory to the party congress in a telegram addressed to RCP Secretary General and head of state Nicolae Ceausescu. The "national soccer team" expressed its "boundless love and respect to the brilliant creator of modern socialist Romania, and the determined and consistent fighter for the victory of peace and cooperation among peoples" as well as to "comrade doctor engineer academician Elena Ceausescu, the eminent politician and world-famous scientist."

With this message, like thousands of similar ones sent to the RCP Central Committee prior to the congress, we have switched to describing the domestic policy situation in Romania. However, we could write a lot of nice things about Balint's flying shot, Szabo's cold-blooded scoring, the dramatic moments of the soccer game, the combat-readiness worthy of appreciation, and the "professional knowledge" that is so rarely to be seen in our soccer nowadays. However, our task is to present the events of another "game," although this was hardly as eventful as the qualifying soccer match in Bucharest, and the final result of the "live relay" of this "game" was hardly in doubt for a moment.

Perhaps the storm of applause greeting the "golden-legged soccer boys" in the Steaua Stadium was not so strong as the applause cheering General Secretary Ceausescu on the opening day of the 14th RCP congress. A storm of applause broke the almost 6-hour-long general secretary's report more than 100 times in this "atmosphere of strong revolutionary commitment." The "5-day show," which can be regarded as a tragicomedy, took place in accordance with the preliminary "director's concepts." On this occasion, they inaugurated the House of the Republic, which cost billions of dollars and which will certainly remind Romania for many decades of the "bright Ceausescu-era." Thousands of policemen and internal security people watched to see that the "show" proceeded calmly and, according to Western reporters, Bucharest seemed to be in a state of emergency. Not only the capital, but also the whole country locked itself up these past few days, and the picture projected by the smooth event, "the great forum of Romanian communists" was that, in the near future, Romania's introversion and isolation will no longer be measurable only by the length of the lines of motorcars waiting to be let in at the borders.

The performance of the 3,300 congress delegates was perfect, and they never went wrong with the order of applause cheering the Conducator [derogatory Romanian term for leader], although, with his advancing years, the small poems in praise of the "genius of the Carpathians" have become increasingly long and flowery. One could imagine that a lot of rehearsal and getting used to each other was behind this well-oiled show, although on-the-scene reports also mentioned a "core" sitting in the center of the congress hall which was giving the signal to the delegates to jump to their feet and declame enthusiastic slogans like "Ceausescu-RCP! Ceausescu and the people! We respect you, our pride—Ceausescu Romania! Ceausescu-heroism, Romania-communism! Ceausescu Reelected on the 14th Congress!"

Increasing Nervousness?

This latter "wish" of the speaking choir has come true. However, the lucky representatives of the international press who were allowed into the country noticed that no such huge campaign for the reelection of the general secretary has ever been conducted before. "In the atmosphere of strong commitment" prior to the congress, the newspapers have been hammering for weeks that the people "should elect comrade Ceausescu, the most beloved son of our people, to the highest position of party general secretary." They also convened one or two Central Committee meetings prior to the congress in order to make the final arrangements, and some people regarded this as a sign of increasing nervousness. At the end of the perfectly staged show—of which the press could closely watch only the great opening and closing scenes—the "historic option of the party and of the whole people" came true for the sixth time.

In addition to the changes under way in Eastern Europe, the extremely thorough preparation of the congress was probably also justified by the organizers' fear of the mostly isolated but nevertheless heroic calls for the removal of the party general secretary in order to save Romania. Rumors began circulating in the Western press that, fearing a possible military coup, high-ranking Army officers were kept under house arrest or were sent on "vacation" to the other end of the country. The fear of a power takeover proved to be unjustified, so much so that, with the conclusion of the "great forum" the 72-year-old secretary general, who is keeping strong despite all the rumors to the contrary, dared to go among the masses of hundreds of thousands of people ordered out to cheer him and dance the "hora," the traditional Romanian folk dance. However, these hundreds of thousands of people in Bucharest looked totally different from the masses of people who took to the streets in Berlin and Prague in recent days. How long can they resist the changes in the surrounding world and the increasing international contempt at the turn of the 21st century? How long can they silence a whole country and humiliate national minorities with tyranny and ruthless police terror? The sticking questions posed by those who are concerned about the peoples of Romania remained unanswered also after the 14th RCP Congress, and it is to be feared that last week's "show" in Bucharest finally missed the opportunity of Romania's chance of carrying out the inevitable changes in a peaceful way.

One of the important messages of this congress was precisely the fact the Ceausescu's Bucharest would desperately resist "the experiment" under way in Eastern Europe. There will be reforms in Romania when "apples grow on beech-trees and reeds blossom." Reporters in Bucharest attribute this saying to the Conducator. The initiative to hold an international conference of communist and workers parties—an initiative transpiring from Ceausescu's report to the congress and from his statements—seemed almost a cry for help. At this conference, the Romanian leader would like to discuss the "problems of socialist construction," and, in his view, the memory of these problems will soon be like that of a "hurricane or a dark night." There has been no favorable response yet to the call of this totally isolated dictator after the changes in Berlin and Prague, and this could also be an explanation for the fact that the Romanian leader was conspicuously cordial recently to his Cuban, Chinese, and North Korean guests. He expressed his views about the "increasing antisocialist and anticommunist activity of reactionary and imperialist forces aimed at upsetting the balance of socialist countries" in the newspapers of the aforementioned countries.

Prince Charming

"Romanian socialism has turned from a small child into a prince charming"—the secretary general pointed out in his report, and he also stressed that, by the end of the this century, Romania "will be among the united nation-states and the medium-developed countries." The congress reports contain an endless number of "achievements" of the Ceausescu-era, and observers trained on "accomplishments" were also surprised when they heard of a wheat production of 60 million metric tons, something that would exceed the production per hectare of Denmark and Holland. The promise of a supply of 120 kilograms of meat per person per annum in the capital also sounded good, but until the inhabitants of Bucharest reach that amount, they were glad to see the extra food in the shops that the hosts were able to show the foreign reporters during the congress at least.

The decisions of the congress rapidly turned into "the fighting and working program of the party and the people," and it seems that nothing can hinder "the opening of new prospects, the new victories and accomplishments." The "show" is over, the applauding machinery has received "the directives and guidelines" necessary for fulfilling the tasks. The members of the national soccer team also promised "to be up to the expectations of the general secretary expressed in his message to the national conference of sports movements" at the world soccer championship to be held in Italy next year. Although I like soccer, I cannot feel nostalgic about our "golden team."

Moscow Meeting Viewed by Leaders, Daily

Mazowiecki Interview

AU0212175789 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Leon Bojko: "It is Possible to Change Geopolitics"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Bojko] With what sort of feelings did you travel to Moscow?

[Mazowiecki] I do not deny that I traveled to Moscow with a certain apprehension. I have wanted to visit Moscow for a long time now—to get to know the city, the people, the atmosphere, and, finally, when my wishes came true, I found myself going to the very top. I was very nervous.

[Bojko] What sort of reception did you receive?

[Mazowiecki] The openness of Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov right from the very first moments at the airport, his comments in the car, his manner of conversation, created a very good atmosphere.

I can say the same for Mikhail Gorbachev. He removed all barriers with his very first words. Greeting me, he began by saying: "This may seem strange to some people, but I personally wish you success." The talks in his office lasted for almost 2 hours and were very direct, sincere, and frank. One cannot fail to feel a great warmth for him personally.

[Bojko] You have talked about the need for a breakthrough in Polish-Soviet relations, but the Communists are maintaining that such a breakthrough occurred in the 1940's.

[Mazowiecki] We now need a relationship that would be acceptable to Polish society, and not a relationship that is imposed from above. This new arrangement would have to be based on truth. We now find ourselves in a historical moment that allows us to contemplate this kind of change.

[Bojko] Your situation is being compared to the situation of past premiers, namely, Wladyslaw Sikorski and Stanislaw Mikolajczyk....

[Mazowiecki] I try to avoid such comparisons. Every analogy has its inherent flaws. The historical conditions are different. The importance of my role is to establish links at the state and national level, and not on the party, or some other grouping level. However, I do not dismiss the need for group contacts on the party, organization, or personal and human levels. Today we have a historic opportunity for reconciliation with the peoples of the Soviet Union, especially for reconciliation with the Russian people. General de Gaulle once said: "You cannot change geography, but you can change geopolitics." Why should we not think about an authentic agreement between our nations, an agreement which stems from their needs?

[Bojko] Do you think that your government has more chances of success than the Communists?

[Mazowiecki] This is only the start, and it is much too early to speculate. I do not know whether I actually have more chances of success, but I believe that I have.

[Bojko] What is your assessment of your visit to the USSR, now that you have held those basic talks?

[Mazowiecki] You know, it is one thing to read declarations of friendliness, and something completely different to experience them personally. Moscow and its inhabitants made a very positive impression on me. Lech Walesa uses the term "positive pluses" when wants to describe something that he finds very positive. I have to say that Moscow gets my "positive pluses."

Skubiszewski, Mazowiecki Remarks

LD0412231189 Warsaw PAP in English 2233 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 4—The Polish delegation which attended an information meeting of the heads of states and governments of Warsaw treaty-member countries returned from Moscow tonight.

Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told PAP:

"The adoption of a resolution acknowledging the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968 as an illegal act and political, harmful mistake, was an important event of the Moscow meeting. The Polish delegation caused that this resolution carries a short entry reading that the Warsaw Treaty is no grounds for any intervention in the internal affairs of states. It is important that such a stance was adopted by the whole Warsaw Treaty.

"There were no negotiations and arriving at certain conclusions during the talks. [sentence as received] The very exchange of views and information was important. Premier Mazowiecki had the opportunity to talk to Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov about economic matters, to our advantage.

"Chairman Gorbachev also touched upon the German issue because he discussed this topic with President Bush. President Jaruzelski also referred to the German issue in his address."

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski stated: "Mikhail Gorbachev presented a report on his talks with President Bush in an open manner. He spoke about all the details. The part of his report relating to his talks during the visit to Italy and talks with John Paul II was also interesting. Gorbachev thought the Pope was an extremely interesting man and also stated that on many matters of concern to the Soviet Union—that is the issue of peace in the world—the views of John Paul II are the same. Gorbachev came

from that meeting with Bush in an optimistic mood. Greater chances are opening up today for a strengthening of peaceful relations, for expanding Soviet-American cooperation than yet a few years ago.

"During my stay in Moscow I talked with Gorbachev as well as Hungarian leaders Nyers and Nemeth."

Commentary on Visit

AU0412104889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Nov 89 p 1

[Commentary by Dariusz Fikus: "Without Embellishment"]

[Text] Everyone is asking what Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to Moscow produced and what he is bringing back to Poland. My answer would be brief: As he himself said, the visit was unconventional in every respect and it needs to be treated in a special way. It did not immediately yield any spectacular result: We did not receive an assurance that supplies of gas or oil from the USSR would increase or that there will be a twofold increase in trade, and that our debts will be rescheduled on favorable terms.

However, no one expected results of this kind. It was a meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and representatives of a Polish Government formed under new conditions as a result of an election victory. It was a meeting with different Poles, the majority of whom are not Communists, from the governing team. There is also a certain psychological element that has to be taken into account. The Mazowiecki government is composed of new people, and the political biographies of some of them could have aroused surprise in the USSR. It was a question of becoming mutually acquainted, because nothing diffuses tension as much as personal contact.

During Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Warsaw, the Polish foreign minister raised a series of issues that required consideration by both sides. Some of the issues that were raised, such as the blank spots or compensation for people who were imprisoned or deported to penal and labor camps, were not expected by the USSR minister and needed to be thought over. Besides, these were not the only issues. Following his return from Warsaw, Shevardnadze spoke about the situation in Poland at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet Foreign Affairs Committee. The statement that he made did not elicit much reaction, but I think that it merited more attention. This is because he was not addressing the foreign community but his own citizens as if he were seeking to explain what had happened in our country: "The situation that arose there following the election led to the formation of a coalition government in which the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is a partner. We consider this to be Poland's internal affair. The elections were conducted according to the law. The people made their choice. That choice is recognized and respected by the PZPR. There is no reason why we should not respect the will of the Polish people. Poland is a key country in the European political and security system. It is our neighbor and this means that our relations with Poland are particularly important. For us the most important thing is stability in Poland. In this respect the current situation there is better than it was. We are interested in seeing Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government cope with its problems. Stability in Poland is an element of our national security and we should promote it." It is no exaggeration to say that this was a statement of historic importance.

During a conversation with intellectuals in Leningrad, Tadeusz Mazowiecki put it even more concisely: "We need your changes to succeed; you need our changes to succeed."

Therefore, one can talk about a common area of interests and about the need to find a common language. Semantics are of exceptional importance in this respect. One should carefully read the final document of the visit. It precisely reflects the content and spirit of the talks. It does not contain any unnecessary embellishments and none of the traditional empty-sounding ideology. It talks about the continuity of Polish-Soviet relations, about mutual confidence, about the freedom to choose a certain path, and about full equality. It also discusses something that is of particular interest to us—favorable conditions for the development of the national identity of persons of Polish nationality who are residing in the USSR and vice versa. It also discusses what was repeated on many occasions in the past: the reorganization of the mechanisms governing economic cooperation and trade.

During the visit, we were excitedly listening to the news from Prague and Berlin. However, we received the news in Warsaw calmly. There is calm in Warsaw and, against the background of surging waves in central Europe, I think that this peace fortifies not only us, the "anarchists," as we were called.

Of course, for Poles the most moving part of the Moscow trip was the premier's presence in Katyn. It was not only a national duty, but also an act of homage to the tragedy of the whole of Polish history. From our point of view, the matter is closed, but in a spirit—as Father Hauke-Ligowski said at the cemetery—of peace and reconciliation, in a spirit of removing the thorns, which are of more than just symbolic importance for us Poles.

During the visit—I repeat this once more—every new word and every gesture counted, and there were many of them, and they all signify hope that our relations as neighbors will be good and that there will be mutual confidence. That is what matters most in today's Europe.

Swiecicki on Talks

LD2511172489 Warsaw PAP in English 1553 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, Nov 25—"We discussed all the current economic problems, namely, the restructuring of the functioning of economic mechanisms, the 1991-1995 five year period, cooperation in 1990, and some bilateral

arrears from the present year," Poland's Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki told PAP after the talks he held here.

"As far as many of these issues are concerned it will be necessary to set up working teams to polish up an agreement. So talks will continue in the next months."

"The two sides consider it necessary to restructure mutual trading relations so that enterprises should play a decisive role in them and convertible currencies be a basis for settlements," said he.

"The talks are difficult as the economic situation of the two countries is rather difficult," Swiecicki said.

Chervov Cited on Arms Reductions

AU0412155389 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Nov 89 p 2

[NOVOSTI article 'specially for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI' by Vasiliy Morozov: "N. Chervov: There has been A Change In the Way In Which Generals and Officers Think"]

[Text] "It is true that some representatives of the West accept the assurances of the Soviet political and military leadership concerning the defensive character of our military doctrine, but they think this only applies to the political aspect of the doctrine. It is alleged that the aforementioned principle does not fully apply to the military and technical aspect of the doctrine," says Colonel-General Nikolay Chervov, chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces. He adds that neither of these views reflect the essence of the matter. The socio-political aspect of the doctrine simultaneously defines the essence of the military and technical aspect because the second is dependent on the first. Both serve the main goal of Soviet military doctrine: the prevention of war.

As we know, the concrete military and technical aspect of the doctrine includes matters relating to equipping the USSR Armed Forces, the training of these forces, and the definition of ways and means in which possible aggression may be repulsed. This aspect of the doctrine is directly related to four sets of problems. The first concerns defining the nature of the military threat, as well as the potential enemy. Second, a clear answer has to be found to the question of what kind of aggression would have to be repulsed and what kind of modern war the Armed Forces would have to be trained for. Third, there has to be a precise definition of the size and numerical strength of the Armed Forces, so that the general principle of reasonable sufficiency is satisfied.

In this context, one has to mention the Soviet proposal concerning the Armed Forces of the two military organizations in Europe once they have been reduced.

As we know, this proposal, made during the Vienna negotiations, calls for a radical reduction in the Armed Forces of both sides. It calls for, among other things, a reduction in the numerical strength of the forces of both sides by over 1 million men on each side, and a threefold reduction in the number of tanks in the Warsaw Pact.

According to the Soviet proposal, following the reductions, to take place at an agreed time, the Warsaw Pact and NATO could each have 1,350,000 soldiers, 4,700 tactical aircraft, 1,900 combat helicopters, 20,000 tanks, 21,000-22,000 artillery systems, and 28,000 infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers. Apart from that, the Soviet proposal also calls for converting the remaining forces of both sides according to purely defensive principles.

But to get back to Soviet military doctrine, the fourth point is to establish the kind of military action against which the Soviet Armed Forces must be constantly prepared in order to repulse any aggression.

Commenting on this problem, Gen Chervov says: "We never intended to be the first to start a war but, bearing in mind the experience of World War II, until recently we did intend to repulse aggression by defensive and offensive means. Today, however, war strategy has been thoroughly reconsidered and there has been a change in the way in which generals and officers think. In case of aggression, defensive operations would be the basic form of military activity in the initial stage."

Gen Chervov cites many concrete examples of implementing the principle of intelligent defense sufficiency while shaping a modern army. One should bear in mind that the Soviet Union has been implementing its unilateral commitments and has reduced the size of its Armed Forces by 235,000 soldiers since November 1989. Apart from that, in response to a USSR Council of Ministers decree, over 172,000 students have been exempted from military service. Some 7,120 tanks, over 3,000 artillery systems, 735 combat aircraft, and 40 ships have been eliminated. The 1989 planned withdrawal of Soviet units from the army groups stationed in Europe and Mongolia has been completed. The total numerical strength of Soviet forces outside Soviet territory has already been reduced by 50,000, and their equipment has been reduced by about 3,200 tanks and large quantities of other types of weapons and equipment.

Gen Chervov also indicates other concrete Soviet moves. A qualitative change to the structure and composition of the Armed Forces is taking place in the USSR. The number of warships, armies, and divisions is decreasing. Shock units and so-called armored pincers are being eliminated. The divisions that remain on the territory of our allies are already being disbanded. The mechanized infantry is losing 40 percent of its tanks, reducing this number from 260 to 155; and armored divisions are losing 20 percent of their tanks, a reduction from 320 to 250. Divisions are altering their defense structure.

Thanks to the positive changes in Europe and a further improvement in the USSR's relations with the Scandinavian countries (Finland, Sweden, and Norway), it has become possible to reduce the combat and numerical status of Soviet forces in the north-western part of the

country. For example, in the Leningrad Military District, the number of tanks has been reduced by a factor of almost two. By the beginning of 1991, the size of units belonging to the Leningrad and Baltic Military Districts will fall by about one-third (by 40,00 men, 1,200 tanks, and a large quantity of artillery). By the end of 1989, the withdrawal of 500 tactical nuclear warheads (166 of them carried by aircraft, 284 of them carried by missiles, and 50 of them carried by artillery) will be completed. By the end of 1990, all submarines with nuclear warheads will be withdrawn from the Baltic. The nuclear weapons arsenal for these submarines will also be destroyed.

Finally, the Soviet military budget will be cut by over 14 percent over 2 years (by R10 million). The cut this year alone will amount to over 8 percent. We intend to cut the proportion of military spending in the national budget by a factor ranging from 1.5 to 2.

Those are the facts that conform that words are not isolated from deeds in the USSR. They confirm that the Soviet doctrine really does have a strictly defensive nature.

Jaruzelski, USSR Group Representatives Meet

LD2411143189 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received a group of leading officials and activists of Polish organizations in the USSR.

The sides discussed issues of developing contacts and cooperation with the some two-million-strong Polish community in the Soviet Union, pointing to the need to make up for considerable backlogs from past years.

The sides pointed to the advantageous conditions which the processes taking place in Poland and the Soviet Union and the international situation create for this cooperation.

Special attention was attached to assistance for Polish schooling, activities in the field of culture and the setting up of Polish organizations in the Soviet Union and the conditions of their operation.

It was stressed that the development and activities of these organizations would be conducive to friendly coexistence and good-neighbourly cooperation between the nations, to overcoming many sterotypes, wrongs and so-called blank spots in their common history, to the strengthening of Polish-Soviet friendship.

Dissident Movchan on Ukrainian Perestroyka

AU0212155089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Nov 89 p 6

[Interview with Pavlo Movchan, activist in the Ukrainian National Movement for Perestroyka, literary critic, and well-known Ukrainian poet, with Olga Iwaniak and Wlodzimierz Sochacki; date and place not given: "We Ukrainians"]

[Text] [Question] In the political program of the Ukrainian National Movement for Perestroyka, there is much talk of the need for the Ukraine to secure economic autonomy, development of new forms of property ownership, and ecological problems; however, the matter of Ukrainian independence receives less prominence. Why is there this difference?

[Movchan] The growth of national consciousness is slower in the Ukraine than it is in the Baltic republics. To begin putting forward far-reaching national demands would be inappropriate at the present time according to the activists of our movement. Full Ukrainian independence is our aim, but for the time being, we shall continue to demand changes in the principles that underlie cooperation between Soviet republics and strive to conclude an agreement which would regulate these matters between us. The Soviet Union ought to function as a confederation of sovereign republics with a limited and strictly defined sphere of competence given to its political center. Moscow's decisions should only be binding on Kiev when ratified by the Ukrainian Supreme Council.

[Question] What sort of social support does your movement have?

[Movchan] In the initial phase of its existence, the Ukrainian National Movement for Perestroyka was only active among intelligentsia circles. Now we enjoy widespread social support, also among the workers. We are experiencing strong resistance and hostility from the party bureaucracy, especially in the outlying areas. In general, our movement is strongest in the large cities, but there are also perceptible regional variations; for example, Western Ukraine is far more "awakened" than Eastern Ukraine where the process of Russification has gone very deep, especially in the last few decades. Thus, the nationality problem is most strongly articulated in Western Ukraine, whereas in Eastern Ukraine it is the ecological problem.

[Question] Not long ago the new first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party stated that the anarchy in Lvov has to cease.

[Movchan] Iwashko's statement on the situation in Lvov is a classic piece of disinformation spread about for Moscow's benefit. It is aimed at creating the impression that nationalistic extremism is raging out of control in Western Ukraine. The point behind it is easy to discern: The party apparatus wants to frighten the people, and at the same time it wants to gain Moscow's approval for action against the political opposition. All this is being done because the party wants to have a resounding success in the upcoming elections to the regional councils.

[Question] In the Baltic republics we have seen the creation of "Interfronts," which are attempts to counteract the national fronts that have recently been founded, these "Interfront" organizations have Russophones as their members.

[Movchan] There is no "Interfront" in the Ukraine, despite the fact that this republic was regarded as the most conservative until very recently. In the Ukraine the role of "Interfront" is taken by the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party.

[Question] After the removal of Shcherbitskiy and the election of Ivashko it was said that the reformists in the Ukrainian Communist Party were gaining the upper hand....

[Movchan] Ivashko is certainly no reformer. During the last few years he belonged to the inner circle of Shcherbitskiy's workers. His opponent was Oleksander Kapto, the present chairman of the Ideological Committee of the CPSU, who was seen as the real representative of the reformist wing. Gorbachev appealed to the members of the Ukrainian Central Committee to vote for Ivashko because Kapto was more useful to him in Moscow.

[Question] What is happening in the matter of the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church?

[Movchan] I think that it is only a matter of a few weeks. Gorbachev is bound to take some promises with him for his meeting with John Paul II in the Vatican. The authorities are already giving back some churches to the Uniates.

Additionally, the removal of Metropolitan Filaret from the position of chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate's foreign affairs section is testimony to the changing relationship of the orthodox hierarchy to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Rakowski on 'Frightening' Lessons in Nyers Talks

LD0412230389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] The head of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] said he gained some frightening experience about the party in the course of his discussions with Rezso Nyers while in Budapest. For this reason, he considers it most important that his party should avoid Hungarian solutions—that is, he would not like the various alternative programs and platforms to conflict with one another at the coming PZPR congress. Rakowski, in an interview given to the Polish youth paper, also commented that it was Chancellor Kohl, not fortune, who had smiled on Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth. Reporters connect this remark with the fact that the FRG chancellor, in the course of his visit to Warsaw in November, had not been willing to meet Rakowski in the PZPR Central Committee headquarters.

Investigation Head on Crimes, Attrocities

AU0212162089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Nov 89 pp 4,5

[Interview with Dr Jacek Wilczur, head of the Stalinist Crimes Investigation Team at the Ministry of Justice, by Zbigniew Machowski; date and place not given: "Remember The Atrocities"]

[Text] [Machowski] What are the tasks of your team?

[Wilczur] I am only in the process of building this team. Until now there has not been such a team within the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes. People did collect documents related to such crimes, but the calling of a special team is a novel development. This field is no longer the province of unofficial social initiatives for there is now an institution which will be officially investigating Stalinist crimes, an institution which is part of the Polish investigation organization. Our team, although it is part of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes, is in fact a separate body.

We do not divide the perpetrators of crimes into ideological, or political categories, because the aims of Hitler and Stalin in regard to our nation were the same, namely, to annihilate. We are not guided by motives of revenge. We accept the principle that no crime that was committed on the Polish nation, be it by German, Soviet, or Stalinist executioners can be forgotten.

[Machowski] What do you consider to be the most urgent task?

[Wilczur] At this moment, the most pressing problem is to save as many documents as possible from destruction—planned destruction by the murderers who may still be alive, or by their accomplices. The people who today are destroying the evidence, although too young to have participated in these crimes, are linked to the murderers in various ways, for example, by family, political, and ideological ties. The covering up of tracks has been taking place for a long time and with differing intensities. The largest number of documents were destroyed in 1956, 1970, and 1980, when the apparatus of repression feared that the changes could lead to the discoveries of the crimes and the people responsible. Today that fear is very strong and, thus, there is continuing destruction of documents. About 60 percent of the documentation relating to imprisonments has been destroyed. This has to stop. Minister Aleksander Bentkowski has done much in this direction.

[Machowski] For example?

[Wilczur] I am unable to go into detail, but he reached agreement with the appropriate people, and subsequently ordered a halt to the destruction of documentation.

[Machowski] Will this be respected?

[Wilczur] I am not convinced it will be.

[Machowski] There have recently been discoveries of graves of those murdered in Sluzewiec, and those who were murdered earlier in Giby. There must be more such graves.

[Wilczur] The graves that are being discovered now are only a small part of the various unknown cemeteries all over Poland. The whole country is full of graves of people who were done to death without any court hearings, or on the orders of Soviet advisers.

So far graves in Wroclaw, Tysza, and Lublin have been located. Recently, mass graves have been discovered in the Rzeszow Voivodship where an NKWD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] Colonel had butchered Home Army soldiers over a certain period of time.

Investigations are concentrating in the areas where the old central prisons once stood, although of course atrocities took place elsewhere. For example, the town of Konskie, in the Kielce Voivodship, was the scene of another massacre. The victims were buried near to the Security Service buildings. Nobody has investigated this yet, but we know that there are mass graves there. Mass graves will no doubt come to light in Krakow, Bialystok, Szczecin, Rzeszow, Opole, and Zielona Gora. I think that very soon we shall be allowed to cross-examine the commandant of the Mokotow prison. He knows everything, but until this time he did not want to say anything. He refused to tell journalists and publicists, but he will have to tell the judge in court. We know that he is still physically and mentally in good health. We also have to cross-examine all the past prison commandants where atrocities are known to have taken place.

[Machowski] Will it be possible to bring all the criminals to justice?

[Wilczur] That will depend on the Sejm. According to the current law such crimes are subject to limitation after 20 years. In the next few days a draft law will be presented to the Sejm and it is on the basis of this new legislation that we shall be empowered to act. We suggest that Stalinist crimes should not be subject to limitation. If, however, the Sejm retains the principle of limitation then we would like to be able to make amends to all of those murdered and their families. As our investigations progress we intend to publish the names of the murderers and the names of their victims. This too will be a sort of punishment.

[Machowski] What about the crimes committed by Soviet advisers?

[Wilczur] It is necessary that we get access to Soviet archives, and we shall be demanding this. This will only become possible if we stop pleading with the highest Soviet authorities and instead we strongly demand to be given access to these sources. The NKWD apparatus was active up to 1946, and it functioned in every voivodship and every single region. These people were not advisers they were the architects of the system of mass murder.

[Machowski] What methods will your team use?

[Wilczur] With every regional commission investigating the crimes of Hitlerism there will be separate sections concentrating on Stalinist crimes. Apart from ongoing archival investigations, judges and prosecutors will cross-examine witnesses and forward their materials to us. We are counting on the help of society, the witnesses to these events, and the people who are still in the possession of documentation.

[Machowski] Why are you doing this?

[Wilczur] This is my life's work. For the first time in over 40 years we have the opportunity as a nation to bring to account all the atrocities committed by the Stalinist system and its apparatus. I too have experienced the effects of this apparatus, for example, I was imprisoned in the cellars of this very building in which I now work. At that time this building belonged to the Ministry of Public Security. I see this as a kind of historical justice.

Since taking office on 19 October, I have already received two threats by telephone, and been strongly advised to resign. I will not be doing so.

Nazi Atrocities Commission Chief Replaced

LD0212124889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] The minister of justice has recalled Kazimierz Kakol, formerly director of the Main Commission for Research into Hitlerite Atrocities in Poland and the Institute of National Memory, and has appointed Deputy Justice Minister Jozef Musiol in his place.

GDR Opposition Figure Opposes Reunification

LD0412140789 Warsaw PAP in English 1306 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 4—"In my opinion, there are no grounds for assuming that a majority of the GDR society wants unification of Germany or German unity," Professor Jens Reich of the Neue Forum opposition movement in the GDR told ZYCIE WARSZAWY today.

"I think that the majority of our society wants the bistatehood of Germany to be preserved. They want to save their country with help from the west and maintaining good relations with the west, but indpendently. I also think that despite all, reunification of both German states in the political sense does not figure on the agenda."

"A serious attempt at reunification would lead to destabilization in Europe and this cannot be accepted," Prof Reich stressed.

Army Daily Rejects 'Haste' of Kohl Plan

AU0212145789 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Nov 89 p 1

[Commentary by Jerzy Markowski: "Three Stones at....Europe"]

[Text] The fact that the world is changing at this very moment is a truism of which no one needs to be convinced. It is patently obvious. That the FRG aspires to unity is also a great truism. Unification was the FRG's strategic goal from the very beginning. It is true that here and there one could find those who doubted this, especially following the placatory assurances made by some Bonn politicians that this was an issue for the indeterminate future. However, they should now shed their illusions. Although the "German festival" surrounding the opening of the border with the GDR is still not completely over, Chancellor Kohl is already submitting a ready-made plan for unification in the Bundestag. These are the three steps to heaven—a referendum, adaptation committees, and... the technical act of unification.

As recently as January this year, the very same Kohl disclosed to the daily DIE WELT "... I think that one can completely exclude the possibility of moving toward German unity except under a European roof, as Franz J. Strauss put it so aptly in the 1950's. The key thing is to know where we belong. The Federal Republic's links with the West, our links with the Western community of values are part of our raison d'etat." As recently as September this year, Horst Teltschik, the chancellor's main adviser, declared that the German question is not necessarily synonymous with striving for unity. It could also be defined as demanding the right to self-determination for the inhabitants of the GDR in their own country, in "another GDR," as he put it.

The three-stage plan for bringing about German unity does not take into account the Western community of values and links. It places a clear emphasis on the West German raison d'etat without taking into account the circumstances and views of others. It is as if these three stages were stones cast under Europe's feet. This is because the essence of the matter is not whether unification will take place, but whether Europe will be able cope with the existence of such a unified state. This applies both to the East and, perhaps above all, to the West. The verbal support that the FRG's allies gave Bonn's unification policy in 1954 did not cost anything. They knew very well that the USSR would not release its most faithful ally from its embrace. The problems have started today, now that the embrace has become less firm. Rather than diminish the difficulties that exist, this rapid submission of a plan for unification adds to them. European stability in both a political and a military sense has become the most important problem facing the Western states. We should point out here that when the unexpected events on the inter-German border made the question of German unity a current issue, Western politicians made every possible effort to stamp out discussion on this subject. However, there is no turning back following Kohl's speech. Viewed in this context, Tuesday's [28 November] expose in the Bundestag represents something of an ill turn for the FRG's allies.

For us in the East, conscious of our historical experience, it was always obvious that unambiguous guarantees of the inviolability of our borders are an important part of the structure of European security. This makes us view unification plans all the more skeptically. This is because we proceed from the assumption that it is not possible to remove one system of security without being sure of what will replace it. As we can see, the FRG is trying to accelerate this very process. However, if self-determination constitutes one problem, then the peaceful European order is another issue. West Germany's haste is not in keeping with it.

Kohl's German Unification Plan Viewed

AU0212130989 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 29 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Commentary signed '(M.K)': "A Plan Without Guarantees"]

[Excerpts] FRG Chancellor Kohl is known for his numerous diplomatic faux pas, recalling the proverbial bull in a china shop. That applies to the illustrious German-American reconciliation over the graves of the Waffen SS in Bitburg, when he allegedly compared the CPSU general secretary to Hitler's propaganda minister Goebbels. However, the decision to appear in the Bundestag with a plan for German unification a few days before the start of the Gorbachev-Bush Maltese "summit" cannot be considered evidence of ignorance of the well-known Russian saying "the quieter you go, the further you will get" [given in Russian]. Instead, it illustrates a drawing of conclusions from the passive attitude adopted by those countries that are the most interested in preserving the European status quo—the former four allies of World War II, and the countries that border the FRG and GDR. The Kohl plan calls for action that makes it look as if German unification were a stone's throw away. It draws up ready recipes, just like the policy of the Christian Democratic Union in the 1950's. Kohl is being helped by the American right wing, which is putting pressure on President Bush to make German unification one of the chief topics of his meeting with Gorbachev.

Other Western countries are also behaving as if they have not given a single thought to what might happen in central Europe sooner than we expect. The British are thoroughly engrossed in the consequences of Mrs Thatcher's fall in popularity, and she herself has been speaking out with caution and moderation, keeping distance in the typical English way. In France, President Mitterrand was quiet for a long time, and later in Bonn he said that unification might be desirable in about 10 years time. What heads of state and government have said in recent weeks indicates that they do not understand the extent and all the aspects of the reappearing German question.

Neither do we know how the Soviet Union will react. The West fears it will issue a new edition of the so-called Stalin Note of 1952, proposing German unification in exchange for German neutrality. The Polish Government is behaving as if it wants dialogue with Germany at any price, and is reducing the whole issue to the problem of safeguarding borders, granting Germany the right to self-determination with no regard for the consequences. [passage omitted]

The unification of the two German states would be the biggest possible blow. It would alter the status quo in force since the end of the war, and would cancel out the effects of this year's "people's autumn." German soil today contains well over 1 million armed men, with modern military equipment, who are there on the strength of long-term agreements worked out and concluded with other states. For the time being, the Germans cannot ignore either these states, or these agreements. Unification is unthinkable without broad consensus between all the relevant parties. The central location and economic potential of the two German states guarantees them a key position in the European security system now and in the future. The problems that are emerging in the relations that bind the two German states to each other and each state to its neighbors cannot be solved by any one country alone, ignoring the question of a new European security structure based on solid political-military foundations. That is the essence of any criticism directed at the FRG chancellor's three-point plan.

If such a new structure arises, I only see room in it for a demilitarized Germany that is so absorbed in the system of European cooperation that all its energies are thereby consumed, which would provide suitable guarantees for fearful partners. Even then, perhaps it would be better and safer for others if the two halves of this country, though culturally and economically united, were to join the system of European security as politically separate states.

FRG's Albrecht Visits, Talks With Leaders

Discusses Cooperation

LD3011061189 Warsaw PAP in English
0001 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 29—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received here today minister-president of the Lower Saxony Government Ernst Albrecht.

The visitor presented concrete forms of the economic relations with their main elements: the cooperation in agriculture, food processing and health protection.

Albrecht said that to encourage West German investors his government offered 250 million Deutsche Marks in credit guarantees to help undertake joint ventures by firms of Poland and Lower Saxony and to back pro-export investments. He also suggested that the cultural relations and tourist exchange should be expanded. He added he hoped that a Polish institute of culture would open in Hanover shortly.

Albrecht said he held talks with representatives of the governments of Hesse and North-Rhine Westphalia on cooperation with Poland. One can expect the governments of these lands to present similar programmes of cooperation, he added.

Concludes Visit

LD0212061489 Warsaw PAP in English
2304 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 30: Ernst Albrecht, minister-president of the Land Government of Lower Saxony, the FRG, ended a two-day working visit to Poland. Today he was received by Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Meeting at Foreign Ministry

Albrecht informed Skubiszewski on his government's economic mission to this country, aimed to focus on agriculture. The two politicians exchanged views on Poland-FRG and all-European relations and also possibilities of overcoming the existing divisions in Europe.

Meeting at Citizens' Parliamentary Club (OKP)

Albrecht met with OKP Chairman Bronislaw Geremek and assured the latter that his interest in Polish affairs was long-lasting. He also stated that German internal developments would not weaken his government's interest in expanding contacts with Poland the manifestation of which was a currently proposed substantial program of regional economic cooperation.

Geremek told Albrecht about the development of democratic process in Poland, thanked for the friendliness of the Government of Lower Saxony which has found expression in credit guarantees for Polish-FRG joint ventures as well as assured him that investing in Poland did not involve higher risk of which western governments should convince investors.

Albrecht Meets Newsmen

Before his departure from Warsaw Albrecht had a press conference at which he stressed that during talks with Polish partners he voiced readiness for broad commitment to economic cooperation with Poland, this refering to such fields as farming, personnel training, environment protection and health care. We want to concentrate our efforts on one Polish region, the Poznan province, in order to make our aid bear more fruit, he stated.

Albrecht assured newsmen that his government would support Lower Saxonian enterprises in investing in this country. His government has assigned 250 million dm to credit guarantees to reduce investors' risk.

We want to expand cooperation in farming, we offer financial assistance, farming equipment and pesticides. We are ready to invite young farmers from Poland and Lower Saxony. We have also presented an offer of managerial training at a school in our land. The land

government is ready to allocate funds from its own budget for the purchase of medicines and medical equipment for Polish health service, Albrecht said.

Asked about his opinion on current developments in Europe, Albrecht said that FRG should develop relations with the GDR and Poland in its own and all-European interest. The development of the situation on the continent depends on the development of relations between two military blocs and the state of disarmament negotiations. The German and all-European issues must be solved in a parallel way, he said.

Kuron Cancels 3-6 Dec FRG Trip Due to Illness

LD0512023589 Warsaw PAP in English 1555 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 4—Polish Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron cancelled his visit to the FRG due to his illness.

Kuron's visit to West Germany was scheduled for this December 3-6.

PPR-Austrian Forum Pegged to German Question

PM2811105489 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 18 Nov 89 p 12

[Marian Turski article: "To Invest in Democracy: Dispatch from Vienna"]

[Text] "To invest in democracy is to invest well," declared Austria's Foreign Minister Alois Mock during the (7 November) inaugural session of the first Polish-Austrian "roundtable conference." "Victory won for democracy and freedom anywhere in the world," the Austrian foreign minister continued, "extends the guarantees of freedom and democracy for Austria. Support for the democratization process in Poland should be expressed in deeds as well as words. This is why Austria is ready to assume some part of the responsibility for that support." On the same day it was announced officially that the Austrian Government increased the value of its food aid to Poland from 22 million to 40 million Austrian schillings (13 Austrian schillings to 1 U.S. dollar), and that the minister of economy allocated the sum of 20 million Austrian schillings to the training of Polish and Hungarian managerial personnel. We also learned that a visit by the Polish finance minister was expected in Vienna, where he would discuss the question of the conversion [rekonwersja] of Poland's debt in Austria.

Another speaker who took the floor at the opening session of the "roundtable debate"—a debate organized by the Polish Institute of International Affairs and its equivalent in Austria—was Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski. The composition of the Polish delegation to the "roundtable debate" reflected the new style of political pluralism in Poland. Its participants included, among others, representatives of the top authorities of the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and the Polish United Workers Party, J. Czaja, J. R. Nowak, S. Wiatr, as well as Senator A. Szczypiorski and Deputy S. Niesiolowski of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club and J. Hajnicz and W. Lamentowicz of the Senate International Studies Bureau. I believe that this composition was what Prof Skubiszewski was referring to when he stated that he attached great importance to such nongovernmental bodies because they could make a very considerable contribution to the definition of new spheres of international cooperation. In his address Minister Skubiszewski delivered a statement which, I noticed, came as a partial surprise to his Austrian listeners—and not only to them. "I am against the practice of conducting our entire foreign policy out in the streets, as it were, and in public," he said. "Foreign policy must remain in the hands of professionals and its workings must be partly shrouded in confidentiality. But at the same time," he added, "it must be in the public domain." All in all, Minister Skubiszewski's address was quite brief but it was eloquent and brilliantly executed. The Viennese public noted with interest his Palais Palffy lecture, "Polish Foreign Policy: Today and Tomorrow," as well as his statements made during the press conference at the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Before I proceed to discuss the substance of Minister Skubiszewski's statements, I should like to devote a few lines to his entry into the political arena. Even those who do not exactly share our new foreign minister's views must admit that this "homo novus" moves in the sphere of foreign policy with all the skilled ease of an experienced diplomat. His fluency in foreign languages surely makes this task even easier. In Vienna he spoke in English, German, and also French (for a radio interview)—always impeccably, with no accent. He also won an excellent opinion from the press. His audiences recognized that he is a brilliant, distinguished, and internationally renowned lawyer, that he was a student at Nancy, Harvard, and Columbia University, and that he has lectured at Geneva and Oxford. Without doubt his distinguished personality lends authority to Polish foreign policy.

As to the lecture itself, Prof Skubiszewski divided it into four parts: the new government's policy guidelines; relations with the USSR; relations with the FRG; and the question of European unity. I shall summarize some of his major points here. (The minister did not agree to a distribution of the full printed text of his lecture—perhaps because he made subsequent alterations to it).

—We do not ignore political or military realities in Europe and worldwide. We do not want to alter the existing balance to the detriment of either the USSR or the United States. Under no circumstances do we want to contribute to a destabilization in Europe or in the balance of power between the superpowers;

—Poland does not wish to be a pawn in an interplay between the world powers. Poland wants to be independent to a certain degree. "Let me stress the fact

that I say 'to a certain degree,' not 'in absolute terms.' But I certainly rule out a satellite role;"

—No task is more important for Poland's foreign policy than a strengthening of internal reforms. No other country is in any way threatened by what is happening in Poland;

—Our foreign policy should be dominated by public interest rather than the interest of the ruling party. It is essential to "de-ideologize" foreign policy. Ideology belongs to a different domain from a system of moral values, but (spoken emphatically) "we do not reject moral values in foreign policy." (I am not quite certain whether Prof Leszek Kolakowski would endorse this statement. I still remember how he used to argue—I think correctly—that politics and morality belong to two separate spheres of values in a system of logic, and these spheres do not overlap);

—Relations with the USSR must be stripped of all residual traces of past history. Here the minister emphasized his point by making a reference to Katyn, among other things. (Let me add here that Vienna is one of three European capitals in which I would not strive to emphasize that point);

—As regards relations with the Germans, agreement between the people preceded all agreements between states. This lack of balance should be rectified, and Chancellor Kohl's Polish visit can help the situation here;

—Germany's failure to realize the advantage to Europe of a strong Poland flanked by Germany and Russia resulted in disastrous consequences;

—As regards European unity, it will be necessary to ensure that Western powers do not appropriate a monopoly on "arranging" Europe to their own blueprint;

—Poland wishes to see the division of Europe eliminated. This could be made possible, among other things, by a leveling of standards—including economic standards—among all European countries.

Later, Minister Skubiszewski gave a press conference, and the answers he gave to reporters complemented his lecture, so to speak. No one was surprised to see the Austrian question totally eclipsed by German issues. This was because of both Chancellor Kohl's Polish visit and the turn of events in the GDR.

[Reporter] Would a future reunification of Germany present a threat to Poland?

[Skubiszewski] If the two parts of Germany wanted to become unified, "they would have to do it within the confines of their present borders. There is no other possibility. This must be stated with utmost clarity, and it would be a good thing if all competent politicians were to understand it." The unification of Germany "is a distant prospect," though Poland "respects the German people's right to self-determination." But Poland's attitude to this issue is only one of the factors present here. Another factor is the "recognition of the joint responsibility of the four victorious powers for Germany as a whole." The two parts of Germany cannot come together without the endorsement of the four powers, and these, "to put it mildly, approach this possibility less than enthusiastically." The third factor is the realization that the creation of a "new" power in Central Europe today would create "an all-European problem." In Bismarck's day it was exclusively his own and Germany's internal political concern, whereas today it would be a very different matter: A reunification of Germany "would pose a specific problem to its neighbors." Consequently, it is a rather complex picture. "This is why I consider some of the recent statements on the subject of German reunification very naive."

In reply to a question about Polish people's attitude to the resettlement of the German population, Prof Skubiszewski said that some people in West Germany "do not fully understand" that the redrawing of Poland's borders after World War II was a consequence "of the war which Germany lost." There are issues which German people "remember very well, and there are others which they gladly forget: It was not Poland which wanted to change borders in 1939—it was Hitler's Third Reich." As a consequence of initiating a whole series of pacts with Moscow in 1939, the Nazi regime became responsible for the destruction of the order in that part of Europe. "He who has said A, must remember also about B and C." The redrawing of Polish borders after the war was decided not by Poland but by the three allied powers: Britain, the United States, and the USSR. It was the same three powers which also decided on the expulsion of the German population from Poland's Western territories. "These people, too, became victims of the war. I myself was displaced during World War II, so I understand the tragic fate of all displaced persons."

When asked about the German minority in Poland, Minister Skubiszewski stated that there are people resident in Poland who admit to German language, culture, and tradition. There are also some people of German descent. These are sometimes confused with people who are entitled to German citizenship through their parents and who consequently regard themselves as Germans, in accordance with FRG law. From the viewpoint of Polish legislation they are not German citizens. The minister expected that as a result of Chancellor Kohl's visit those people who live in Poland but regard themselves as Germans would be granted certain rights. "Previous Polish governments tended to pass over certain issues in silence in the mistaken belief that if they were not discussed they did not exist. It is regrettable that population censuses in Poland lacked appropriate columns for entering respondents' nationality and language."

In a pronouncement on Polish-Austrian relations, Minister Skubiszewski stressed "the wisdom of the policy adopted by Austrian Governments," "which has always preserved a stable attitude to Poland." Vienna has

always treated Poland as an important element of European equilibrium. Austria's proposals concerning the sphere of economic relations are "very important" for Poland. They will be discussed by ministers responsible for the economy.

Another topic discussed by the minister—and this time revealed to a smaller audience attending his meeting with Vienna's Polish community at the "Strzecha" Club—were the new trends in Poland's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Replying to numerous questions, Minister Skubiszewski spoke about the appointments policy in the Polish diplomatic service. He intends to change this policy gradually, but he adheres to the principles of professional expertise, devotion to service, and loyalty. Both the ministry and the government want to transform the present system of state administration employees into a civil service structure equivalent to the British civil service. To be able to replace the present cadre, "which was appointed exclusively through the PZPR's nomenklatura channels," we need to have enough personnel capable of replacing it. "I do not intend to get rid of professionals. There are professionals in the Foreign Affairs Ministry who have given me their loyal cooperation."

Much attention was given to the issue of the Polish population still resident on Soviet territory. Minister Skubiszewski disclosed that he brought this question up every time he met with Minister Shevardnadze. "Against the advice of highly-placed Solidarity advisers who suggest that I should refrain from 'stirring up' the matter of the return to Poland of Polish people resident in the Soviet Union who hitherto been unable to do so, I broach this issue, too... It is a personal matter for every Pole living there to decide whether he wants to remain where he is or to leave. Neither the old nor the new party will make any political capital out of it."

It was an interesting meeting for both the guests and the journalists.

Economic Talks Held With Austria 28 Nov

LD2911035389 Warsaw PAP in English
1526 GMT 28 Nov 89

[Text] Vienna Nov 28—This morning Vice-Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz arrived here for one day of talks with Chancellor Vranitzky, Finance Minister Ferdinano Lacina, and Foreign Minister Alois Mock.

Balcerowicz will also meet Laenderbank director, P. Wagner.

Speaking to PAP upon arrival, the Polish finance minister said: One of the topics I intend to discuss here is Austrian contribution to the stabilization loan. This loan is an important prerequisite of Poland's start to implementation of her economic programme, and, in particular, to the unification of the exchange rate of the zloty against foreign currencies.

I also want to discuss Austrian credit guarantees, and Poland's access to merchant credits, Balcerowicz added. We need credits badly and fast to develop production.

Another topic will be talks in the Paris Club, since Austria is one of our biggest creditors. The Austrian side has put forward very interesting proposals which we want to study in detail.

We would also like the East-West fund, announced by Mr Uranditzky and Mr Lacina, to take concrete shape, said Balcerowicz.

In his statement for PAP at the airport, Minister Lacina said: We have invited Mr Balcerowicz for talks on activization of economic contacts between both countries. We will discuss questions of Polish indebtedness, possibilities of granting new credits, and assistance for Poland's reformatory programme.

Jaruzelski Receives Danish Foreign Minister

LD2511071189 Warsaw PAP in English
2316 GMT 24 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 24—President Wojciech Jaruzelski today received here the foreign minister of Denmark, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, now on a visit to Poland.

The topic of their conversation were Polish-Danish relations. Both politicians voiced satisfaction at the current state of these relations and pointed to considerable possibilities of future development.

The two men also touched upon some international issues, emphasizing favourable trends in East-West relations and in the CSCE process.

President was Polish Foriegn Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen met Polish and foreign journalists today and was accompanied by a numerous group of Danish businessmen, the greatest that had ever come to Poland on such an occasion.

"Polish hosts stressed the need for assistance by Western countries to suport the process of political changes. I stressed that EEC countries responsibly approached economic support and took interest in political stability in Europe. We also know that you are increasingly short of time. I presented also proposals of Danish assistance.

"We support Poland's initiative to convene ecological conference of Baltic countries.

"During talks with Minister Skubiszewski, I agreed that we had to examine all forms of contacts, including political and cultural ones. We want all signed documents to be concretely implemented," the minister said.

Asked about his impressions from his meeting with the president and the primate, the minister said that he was under an impression of the commitment of all Polish leaders that he met. All of them stress their will to solve problems by a democratic course. This impresses the friendly neighbour, said the minister.

Danish Daily Interviews Jaruzelski

PM3011141789 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 25 Nov 89 p 6

[Report on interview with President Wojciech Jaruzelski by Terkel Svensson on 24 November; place not given: "Jaruzelski: Solidarity Makes Hard Times Easier To Swallow"]

[Text] Warsaw—The broad popular support for Solidarity is an important precondition for the Polish people's accepting the hard times.

Such was the admission from Poland's president, 66-year-old Wojciech Jaruzelski, when he yesterday gave—most unusually—a 15-minute interview during Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen's official visit to Poland.

It was Jaruzelski who introduced martial law in Poland in 1981 and put Solidarity leader Lech Walesa under house arrest.

"I do not regret the decision to introduce martial law, but I regret the situation which forced me to act in that way," Wojciech Jaruzelski told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

"But today all the political forces have been able to rise above their prejudices and the traumas of the past which divided us. We have recognized that there are some overriding values, such as the national interest. That is why we are able to work together today, even though we were once on different sides," Jaruzelski said.

Today Poland has a Solidarity-led government in which the communist party is only one of several partners.

And today Jaruzelski declares himself to be a supporter of the democracy which has shunted the communist party into a secondary position:

"Churchill once said that democracy is a poor form of government, but that he did not know any one that is better, and I agree with him," the Polish president said.

Jaruzelski exerts his influence as the 40 million Poles' head of state from his presidential palace in Warsaw. The palace is called the Belvedere and was originally built for Prince Konstantin, a nephew of Russia's Tsar Aleksandr II.

Peacocks wandered in the palace's snow-covered gardens outside the window of the Pompeii Room, where Jaruzelski holds political talks with his guests yesterday.

And Jaruzelski takes the view that Poland has now made so much progress that it is possible to draw comparisons between Denmark and Poland.

"In Poland we are all together on the road to a normal period with civilized democracy and with several parties. As in Denmark, each party in Poland has its own identity. You are able to find a common denominator when Denmark's interests are at stake. We have just moved onto the same road," Jaruzelski said.

But the situation in Poland is not without its problems, the president said.

"We have to go through difficulties. But precisely because the government is a broad-based coalition government and because Solidarity as its most important partner enjoys such confidence among the population, it is possible to get people to accept the present hardships," he said.

Wojciech Jaruzelski has noted that the people are most impatient, but nevertheless the Poles are keeping up their spirits without any signs of unrest.

"But this state of affairs cannot last forever. The changes must come quickly. People will not feel that political changes have been implemented with the introduction of democracy unless this is reflected in the economic situation and their living standards," the president said.

"We have introduced radical reforms, but they hurt. Surgical interventions cannot be carried out without pain, even when you use anesthetics. They will always be unpleasant," Jaruzelski said.

"I believe that we are facing a future that will produce good results for our country—a future with full democracy and high living standards. But this will cost hard work, and we will have to overcome many difficulties," he predicted.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, president, general, and former chairman of the communist party, which he has left in order to be a president for the whole of the Polish people, sees a future for the party even though it has lost its leading role in Poland.

"The communist party is in the process of transforming itself into a common platform for various sections of the left wing. If the party is able to change itself in that direction—and this will be discussed at a congress in January—it will have a chance of remaining a prominent force," Jaruzelski said.

He said that today he has so much work to tackle that he almost envies Solidarity leader Lech Walesa the house arrest imposed on him—by Jaruzelski—for a year during the period of martial law in Poland:

"I would be happy to spend some time in house arrest. It would give me a little time to rest and sleep. It is very hard work," Poland's president said.

Republic of Korea Embassy Opens in Warsaw

LD2711213589 Warsaw PAP in English 2037 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 27—The Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Poland officially opened its bureau here today.

Also today, Charge d'Affaires A.I. Pyong Hyo-choe paid a visit to Deputy Foreign Minister Jan Majewski and presented a letter to him from South Korean Foreign Minister Choe paid a visit to Deputy Foreign Minister Jan Majewski and presented a letter to him from South Korean Minister Choe Ho-chung to Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski saying about the opening of the embassy in Poland, in tune with a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between both countries signed in Seoul November 1.

Mazowiecki on Ties With Israel, USSR

TA0112115489 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT (LESHABAT supplement) in Hebrew 1 Dec 89 p 13

[Interview with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Sever Plotzker; date and place not given]

[Text] [Plotzker] When will full diplomatic relations with Israel be renewed?

[Mazowiecki] Very soon. Do not be so impatient and restless. After all, the decision has already been made.

[Plotzker] But we are impatient. The Israeli public cannot understand why it is Poland of all countries that is hesitating and deliberating— Poland, whose leaders have recently spoken a lot about the 1,000 years of common history with the Jewish people.

[Mazowiecki] Let us just say that full diplomatic relations will be restored at the beginning of next year. I agree that renewed relations will lead to a closer understanding between our two peoples and to increased economic cooperation.

[Plotzker] Can one say that anti-Semitism in Poland is again on the rise?

[Mazowiecki] This danger always exists. I have faith, however, in the intelligence of the people. Anti-Semitism is a forgotten relic of the past. It is true that it reappears here and there from time to time, but I do not believe it has any reverberations or support. On the contrary, I am convinced that it is on the retreat and totally defunct. But if anti-Semitism rekindles, we will fight it and strike it down.

[Plotzker] Does the Catholic Church play an active part in causing anti-Semitism? Sometimes we get the impression that its silence is too long and that statements by its leaders have anti-Semitic undertones?

[Mazowiecki] I believe that the church has also made significant changes in its position regarding anti-Semitism—a change for the better. They have taken many important steps, and I hope there will be additional ones.

[Plotzker] And what about diplomacy?

[Mazowiecki] The institution of full diplomatic relations that will take place very shortly will no doubt benefit our war against anti-Semitism. Everything here is of importance.

[Plotzker] Yesterday you returned from an official visit to the Soviet Union. You will return there in 2 days for a meeting of Warsaw Pact leaders. How would you evaluate Gorbachev? What are perestroyka's chances?

[Mazowiecki] Following my visit to the Soviet Union, I believe that the processes happening there are totally irreversible. And my trip to Moscow is evidence of that. During my visit to Katyn Forest, where thousands of Polish officers were murdered by the Soviet secret police, I was accompanied by a Soviet Government deputy chairman. Soviet television broadcast a report which almost told the entire truth. I was favorably impressed with Gorbachev and I wish him full success. And I really mean full success. It is important for all of us.

[Plotzker] What about the future of the Warsaw Pact?

[Mazowiecki] Europe is still divided according to alliances with the superpowers. I hope this structure will shortly crumble and be dismantled and that in the future there will be no more military pacts of any kind. This will remove the question of the Warsaw Pact from the agenda.

[Plotzker] What is the Polish Government's position regarding the reunification of Germany and Chancellor Kohl's unification plan?

[Mazowiecki] I am not familiar with the details of the Kohl plan. I understand that he is proposing the reunification of Germany only within the context of a larger unification of Europe. On the one hand, the new Polish Government believes that every nation has the right to political freedom; on the other hand, we have to be extremely careful when discussing Germany, of all countries. At any rate, we feel that European unification must be a precondition to German reunification. The process should absolutely not start with the reunification of Germany.

[Plotzker] Who will be the Polish ambassador to Israel?

[Mazowiecki] My friend, the way you know Poland, perhaps you can suggest someone? We are still looking.

Skubiszewski Interviewed on Foreign Policy

AU0212143589 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Nov 89 p 3

[Interview with Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Polish minister of foreign affairs, by Ewa Boniecka; date and place not given: "The Foreign Policy of an Independent State"]

[Text] [Boniecka] What are the trump cards of a foreign affairs minister in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government?

[Skubiszewski] The trump cards are quite strong. The government is new, and thus it is putting emphasis on continuity in certain fundamental matters. In other equally fundamental matters, there are visible changes and further changes are anticipated. This gives us a large area in which to operate. Another important factor is that my relationship with the premier is good. One does not always find the same thing in other countries, and there can often be open rivalry between the foreign affairs minister and the head of government. The premier's support is a very important factor in my everyday activity, as well in my thinking about policies for the longer term.

[Boniecka] You took over the Foreign Ministry portfolio at a time of change—a time when the sociopolitical system of our country was being restructured. For the first time since 1945, our internal changes are being undertaken in favorable international conditions and are receiving friendly support from the two great superpowers, namely from our neighbor the Soviet Union, and the United States. Our changes have also coincided with a period when divisions, including ideological divisions, are being swept away in Europe. Given this situation, what are the priorities of our foreign policy?

[Skubiszewski] These priorities are as follows: The maintenance of good relations with the USSR and generally with all our neighbors; and the elaboration of a strategy of the Polish raison d'etat vis a vis the Soviet Union. This is extremely important, bearing in mind the convergence of the objective factors (our geopolitics and geostrategy), with the recent change of government in Poland, changes to its system of rule, and generally a wholesale change to our political system (the adoption of a new constitution is only a matter of time). We have to spread our efforts. There is the matter of different relationships which function on different planes: relations between state and the government; economic relations, here I am thinking of the relationship between the real participants in our economic life, and not government organs; and of course the very important area of relationships between nations and societies—in our case this means our relations with the Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Lithuanian nations, as well as others.

Another area of priority is our relationship with Western Europe and its organizations. We now have very intensive bilateral exchanges. The first steps toward tangible cooperation have already been taken. There is the trade treaty with the EEC on trade and economic cooperation; we have joined the convention on European culture; we have signed the European convention on television broadcasting and the convention against drug abuse; and we have obtained the observer status at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. I have just returned from Strasbourg after holding intensive negotiations there.

The involvement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the endeavors that the government and, more specifically, ministers from the Economic Ministry undertake in all matters related to securing economic help for Poland is rated very highly. This also applies to supporting the Polish economic drive abroad. Of course, the Foreign Ministry only plays a supporting role here. Nevertheless, these matters are linked to one another. The Foreign Ministry's contribution to the agreements signed during Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland was not negligable and contributed to the great sucess that Premier Mazowiecki's government scored by taking Poland out of the impasse which had lasted for several years in our relations with Bonn. In this sense, one can speak of a breakthrough. We reached agreement on many issues that hitherto had remained outstanding, and at the same time we received economic support. The writing-off of DM760 million of our debt to the FRG is the first reduction of our foreign indebtedness. The remaining sum of DM570 million will be repaid in zloty's, and this sum will be used for projects in Poland and for Poland's benefit. Additionally, the Bonn government has underwritten export guarantees in the sum of DM3 billion for the coming 3 years. We are now waiting for our industry to put forward good and concrete projects which will then be financed from this money, along with other projects which will come about from our hard currency repayments servicing the credits.

[Boniecka] In your opinion does Polish society expect reforms in the sphere of foreign policy, and what particular issues would we be thinking of?

[Skubiszewski] I believe that Polish society expects to see a foreign policy appropriate to an independent state which is managed by new people, that is to say, people who are not linked to the old system of government in Poland.

[Boniecka] During your Sejm hearing you stressed the need to free our foreign policy from ideological and doctrinal considerations. This also relates to our relationship as an ally of the Soviet Union, and doubtless to our relationship to the other countries of the Warsaw Pact. What does all this mean in practice? Does it mean giving priority to the geopolitical element; the economic interests; or even to other things?.

[Skubiszewski] This means that we have to be guided by the interests of the state, rather than our interest being subordinated to the interest of this or that political party. The state administration has to become non-ideological. They are the servants of the state and of its interests. The government and its ministers decide on the policies, and not any political grouping outside the government.

[Boniecka] For a long time now, the efforts of Polish foreign policy have tried to secure Western aid in order to solve the problem of Polish indebtedness. Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government may have a better chance. In relation to this problem, what would you like to see happen?

[Skubiszewski] Premier Mazowiecki's chances are good and have already produced tangible results. We have secured different forms of help and cooperation from many international organizations and individual countries. We have to wait before any appreciable effects become apparent in our economy, because this assistance is not intended for the purchase of consumables, but is intended for the reform of the Polish economy. Economic help for Poland does not look too bad, but the process is still continuing.

[Boniecka] In your opinion, and now that the epoch of the cold war is coming to an end, does Poland have the opportunity to reduce its military expenditure—thus having some influence on the reduction of conventional arms stockpiles in Europe—and also through its involvement in disarmament negotiations?

[Skubiszewski] Of course it does. Poland is already in the process of reducing its military expenditure, and is reducing the numbers of its armed forces and arms. It is important for us that the Vienna negotiations on arms reductions in Europe are successful.

[Boniecka] Turning to the West, is there any particular relationship with any particular country which you regard as the most important? Are you a supporter of the policy of the so-called priority orientation?

[Skubiszewski] No, I am not. Today, such an approach is an anachronism. The whole of Europe is important to us—a Europe that we are finally joining, but with a great deal of delay. This delay has cost us very dear. Our relations with the United States are important, but I am not convinced that the United States has a definite policy toward Poland. Very often, if not at every turn, American policy toward Poland has only been a function of its policy toward the USSR.

[Boniecka] As an acknowledged expert on German affairs, what is your opinion on the rebirth of the Mitteleuropa concept?

[Skubiszewski] I am not sure that such a concept is actually being revived, or whether the word "concept" here is a misnomer. Writers have begun writing about "Central Europe" (some of them are very knowledgeable in their field, but they are very naive in politics), and so have publicists and journalists. Out of pure interest, I wonder how many of them have read Frederick Naumann's book "Mitteleuropa" which was published in 1915, and whether they are familiar with the documentation behind that concept (here one can use the word "concept")? The matter had been thoroughly thought out in both the Reich and Austria. One does not see evidence of this in their amateurish writings and discussions. What is even worse is that they are using a meaning which before World War I and during the last war had a very specific meaning, and was used to serve the interests of German imperial politics and also the interests of a faltering Austrian state. These people are now using that concept trying to relate it to a different situation and for different aims which can only cause confusion. I am against the creation of further divisions in Europe, and that is what all this confused talk about Central Europe is doing. In what way could the GDR belong to this Central Europe, if the FRG did not? Would the boundary of Mitteleuropa stop on the Rhine? What would the EEC's, or Russia's reaction be? How would we solve the great disparities in the economic development of the purported members which would participate in this Central European group, not to mention the political conflicts? I am a supporter of uniting Europe and not dividing it.

[Boniecka] Much has recently been written about the need to remove the nomenklatura from all levels of the state administration. As the chief of a ministry which is considered to be highly politicized, what is your attitude to this issue? How can we create a so-called civil service that consists of professional cadres working for the state in conditions of pluralism?

[Skubiszewski] The nomenklatura (what a ridiculous word), no longer exists. However, some of its important vestiges still remain and many people from the nomenklatura are still occupying ambassadorial posts today. I have nothing against the fact that in rare situations a politician who has not spent any previous time in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, or a politician who has had a little preparation in foreign affairs, could be delegated to represent my ministry abroad. However, this would be a very exceptional situation: one which had arisen at a time when such a politician was about to undertake a particular mission for which he was particularly suited and if such a mission was in Poland's interest. There were no such appointments in the Polish People's Republic. Embassy and consulate posts were distributed as favors to one's own people or to get certain individuals out of Warsaw by making them an offer they could not refuse. Their qualifications simply did not come into it. It is gross disrespect for the state and an insult to its dignity when somebody who has held a high or very high post in the state later becomes its ambassador or sometimes its trade counselor. It is comical if one considers that such and such an embassy was regarded as the exclusive prerogative of this or that political party, and only a member belonging to that political party could be eligible for that particular post. I will not tolerate such practices, but let us not forget that I only participate in the decisionmaking concerning ambassadorial appointments. I put forward suggestions, but the matter is not exclusively up to me. Each such matter needs agreements and coordination. I can, however, let an ambassadorial post fall vacant and leave a resident charge d'affaires in

control. However, this does not serve our interests in the long run, and it is not the right way to go about these things.

Now a few words on the creation of a civil service in conditions of political pluralism. Of course, one can build up such a nonparty body of administration. It already exists in democracies and pluralistic countries, for example, Great Britain, France, the FRG, the Scandinavian countries, and many others. The politicians govern and governments change. In certain cases there is no government for many weeks, because of political or coalitionary crises, nonetheless, the state continues to function extremely well, because it is administered by its civil servants who have been educated in special colleges which maintain extremely high educational standards. In Poland, we have to create a system which will produce well-trained civil servants, especially for our diplomatic corps. I am primarily thinking of my ministry, but undoubtedly a better solution would be to establish something that would be applicable to all our government ministries.

[Boniecka] Has there been, or is there presently a figure of diplomacy whom you admire and who has influenced your vision of Poland's place in the world? What kind of ambitions, in the respectable sense of the word, have you brought with you to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

[Skubiszewski] I am unable to answer your first question, although there have been many foreign ministers who have succeeded in rising well above the average. What ambitions did I bring with me? I could say a lot of things. However, to keep things short I would say that through our foreign policy we have to contribute to the continued functioning of an independent Poland. A Poland that is a country fit for normal life (at the moment) at the level of a middle-ranking European state. These few words contain a task of colossal magnitude. The task is not just for the duration in office of one minister, however, we have to make a start somewhere.

[Boniecka] Thank you for the interview.

National Bank Devalues Zloty 10.5 Percent

LD0412121989 Warsaw PAP in English 1116 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 4—The National Bank of Poland devalued the zloty by 10.5 percent today in the 18th devaluation this year and the eighth since Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki took office.

As of today, one U.S. dollar is worth 4,200 zlotys, ie. 400 zlotys more than before.

Following are the current rates of exchange of the zloty to major Western currencies (last week's rates in brackets) applied by the National Bank of Poland:

French franc	685.15	(613.74)
Japanese yen	29.21	(26.39)
Deutsche mark	2346.37	(2093.66)
U.S. dollar	4200.00	(3800.00)
Swiss franc	2616.82	(2350.03)
British pound	6564.55	(5970.15)

The zlotys has also been devalued against the rouble, clearing rouble and transfer rouble, used in trade with CMEA, Albania and some non-European socialist states. Now all these currency units are worth 1,200 zlotys, instead of 1,100 so far.

Daily Reports on Jaruzelski-Glemp Meeting

AU0312183589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Nov 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—President Wojciech Jaruzelski met with Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, on 25 November.

The president and the primate concurred that profound transformations that conform to society's expectations have taken place and still are taking place in Poland. Our nation is faced with a difficult challenge, but also with a great chance. In order to take full advantage of it, it is essential to overcome prejudices and injuries. What is needed is united cooperation by the whole of society. Parochial interests should give way to the supreme interests of the people and state.

The changes to the system of running the state and the process of thorough economic reform require patient sacrifices from society. Therefore, the continuation of a high degree of social trust is an exceedingly important condition for the current changes to succeed. With this in mind, President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Primate Jozef Glemp voiced their support for Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government.

A new vision of Poland—that of a fatherland for all Poles—is now taking shape. Poles from all parts of the world, East and West, are declaring their desire to participate in solving our problems and difficulties.

The numerous foreign declarations of support for Poland must be accompanied by a universal concern for a law-governed and economically well-managed fatherland, marked by the existence of cultural social relations.

The two interlocutors spoke with concern about the difficult material situation of a major part of society and many households. They said that the weakest cannot be left without any help. Essential activity by the authorities in this direction should be accompanied by social support, marked by solidarity and concern. They underlined the significance of the church's moral influence on the shaping of such humanitarian attitudes.

The subject of church-state relations was also touched upon during the talk. The president and primate were pleased with the state of these relations, which are of

fundamental importance for the building of national accord and for consolidating Poland's international prestige.

PAP Report on Talk

LD2611061889 Warsaw PAP in English 1815 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 25—President Wojciech Jaruzelski met here today with Poland's primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

The president and the primate shared the opinion that deep transformations which are concordant with the expectations of society took and are taking place in Poland. The Polish nation faces not only difficult and challanging tasks but also great chances. In order to fully benefit from them it is necessary to overcome prejudices and resentments, needed is the concerted cooperation of the whole society in the spirit of agreement and submitting the interest of particular groups to the supreme reasons of the nation and the state.

The transformations in the ruling of the state and the process of profound reforms in the economy call for the patient selflessness on the part of society. Hence the striving to keep up the high level of social confidence is an extremely important condition for the success of the changes underway. With this in mind, President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Primate Jozef Glemp expressed their support for the cabinet of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

During the meeting, Jaruzelski and Glemp also touched upon the questions pertaining to the relations between the state and the church and expressed their satisfaction over the state of these relations.

Papal Nuncio Arrives; Greeted by Glemp

LD2411140989 Warsaw PAP in English 1825 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23—Papal Nuncio to Poland, Archbishop Jozef Kowalczyk arrived in Warsaw from Rome today. He was greeted at the airport by Poland's Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp. Present were Minister of State Piotr Nowina-Konopka and the ambassadors of Italy and of Spain.

The restoration of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Poland, the nuncio said, and nomination and exchange of representatives was received with sympathy and interest by public opinion.

Thanks to this act the tradition of papal nunciature in Poland is being restored after a 50-year break, he added.

(It is being) restored because thanks to unremitting, long lasting efforts on both sides, the situation has ripen for a representative of the Holy See to settle in the postwar Poland, the archbishop said.

The holy father, Pope John Paul II assigned the mission and the task to a priest who is the son of that land and of that nation. This fully justifies my present emotion.

Guards Use Weapons To Prevent Prison Escape

LD0512044189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Yesterday in the Gdansk detention center a group of 100 detainees managed to get out of the buildings and tried to carry out a mass escape. Being in a situation of direct danger the prison service decided to use, in keeping with the law, tear-gas grenades and batons initially, and later, firearms. Warning shots were fired. Five prison officials were injured, two of them have been hospitalized. Most of the prisoners, including the protest committee, have detached themselves from this incident.

New Newspaper Appears in Olsztyn

LD0112194689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1100 GMT 30 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Announcer] A new paper, OLSZTYNSKI KURIER OBYWATELSKI [OKD], has appeared in the Polish press market.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] The first edition of the OLSZTYNSKI KURIER OBYWATELSKI is going to appear in Olsztyn today. I am speaking to (Bogdan Kurowski), its editor in chief.

[Kurowski] This has become possible thanks to an accord between two apparently opposed forces, the Municipal People's Council in Olsztyn and the Citizens' Committee of the City of Olsztyn, which operates under the Solidarity banner. On the one hand we have the people who are on the Council, who are currently running the city, and on the other, the people and public movement who are preparing for the new elections and are interested in bringing forward its date. So, it is apparently competing against these councillors for the future local self-government of the city. It is a political accord. A civic cooperative agreement has been drawn up. The OKO is going to be an editorial cooperative of the Municipal People's Council and the Citizens' Committee.

[Reporter] Today the OKO can be purchased from shops, booksellers, at the Town Hall, and from street vendors. The first issue includes articles about the Internal Affairs Ministry clinic, car allocations, and the municipal bank. Cover price is Z 200. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Labor Minister Kuron's Televised Remarks Reported

LD2211050789 Warsaw PAP in English 0224 GMT 22 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21—After a two-week break, Poland's Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron spoke on television tonight. Said he (excerpts):

I once again want to speak about war veterans. I want to stress that certain benefits (stemming from rights and privileges granted to war veterans) should go to people who fought during World War Two against Nazi occupiers. They should also go, and I am deeply convinced of this, to people who took part, arms in hand, in the civil war directly after the new rule came to this country. But these benefits should not go to prison guards and security service staffers. This distinction must be made by an amendment to the appropriate law, now under preparation.

Could the government start its action with a struggle for staving off the fall in production in order to protect living standards? What was the government to do to reach this aim? It would have had to preserve all the existing structures without any changes. So it would have had to subsidize all these energy-consuming goods and this gigantic wastefulness. The production would fall all the same, but at a slower rate. Slowly, light would become scarce and everything would have to be rationed. Month after month we would go into deeper ruin.

Those of you who watched Bucharest streets on TV know how the situation would look like. They know where it would lead to, should we follow advice from some people. We decided to do what the entire Polish nation wanted, namely, a radical change of a structure. This radical change requires costs and effort from all of us. Let me repeat: From all of us, said Kuron.

Ceausescu, Dascalescu Depart for Moscow 4 Dec

AU0412094689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0815 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES. 4/12/1989—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, left in the morning of 4 December for Moscow to attend a meeting of the party and state leaders of the Warsaw Treaty countries.

President Nicolae Ceausescu is accompanied by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], prime minister; Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, foreign minister; other officials.

At the Otopeni Aiport, President Nicolae Ceausescu was seen off by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party's Central Committee, members of the CC of the RCP, the State Council and the government, representatives of central institutions, mass and public organizations.

Ceausescu, Gorbachev Meet To Exchange Views

AU0512091389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2211 GMT 4 Dec 89

["Interview Between Nicolae Ceausescu and M.S.Gorbachev"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 4/12/1989—On December 4, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, met with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CC [Central Committee] president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

During their interview, the two party and state leaders informed each other of the course of socialist construction in Romania and the Soviet Union. Satisfaction was expressed at the traditional links of friendship and collaboration between the two parties, countries and peoples and so was the mutual wish to further work for their expansion and development of multiple planes, in the interest of socialist construction in the two countries, of the general cause of socialism, collaboration and peace in the world. Nicolae Ceausescu and M.S. Gorbachev exchanged opinions on current questions related to socialist construction and the international communist and working-class movement, as well as on issues of the international life.

Emphasis was placed on the mutual interest in expanding the collaboration between Romania and the Soviet Union both bilaterally and in the international life.

The interview was attended by Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania, and N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The interview occasioned an open exchange of opinions and passed in a comradely atmosphere.

Ceausescu Welcomed Upon Return

AU0512091689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2219 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 4/12/1989—On December 4 in the evening RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary and Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu returned to Bucharest coming from Moscow, where he attended a summit of the leaders of the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty.

Nicolae Ceausescu was accompanied by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, prime minister of Romania; Constantin Olteanu, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP; Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, other officials.

Upon arrival at the Otopeni Airport the RCP and Romanian state leader was welcomed by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, by secretaries of the party's CC, by members of the CC of the RCP, of the State Council and of the government, by representatives of central institutions and of mass and public organizations.

Also present were V.G. Pozdnyakov, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, and embassy staff.

Upon departure from Moscow at the Vnukovo Airport, Nicolae Ceausescu was seen off by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, vice-president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], by other Soviet officials.

Ceausescu Invited To Pay Official Visit to Iran

AU0512092389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0827 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 5/12/1989—The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, will pay an official friendly visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran at the invitation of the president of the country, Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, in the latter half of December 1989.

Political Executive Committee Meets 1 Dec

Convenes Plenum for 12 Dec

AU0112174489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1622 GMT 1 Dec 89

["Plenary Meeting of the CC of the RCP Is Convened"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 1/12/1989—Meeting on 1 December 1989, the Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] called the plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party on 12 December 1989.

Mandates Call for Meeting

AU0112174689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1625 GMT 1 Dec 89

["Decisions Concerning the International Activity of the RCP and the Romanian State Made by the Executive Political Committee of the Party's Central Committee"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 1/12/1989—Meeting on 1 December, the Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] made decisions on the international activity of the RCP and the Romanian state.

In the spirit of the resolutions of the 14th congress, the Executive Political Committee, stressing the necessity and usefulness of organizing regional conferences and an international conference to discuss in common the problems that concern the socialist countries, the communist movement, the communist and worker parties, gave the party's general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, the mandate to take action, along with other revolutionary parties and forces, in order that an international conference may be called as soon as possible.

Elects Standing Bureau

AU0112174889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1647 GMT 1 Dec 89

["Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP Establishes Measures to Fulfil the 14th Congress Resolutions"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 1/12/1989—Meeting on 1 December under the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's chairmanship, the Executive Political Committee [PEC] of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP unanimously elected the Standing Bureau of the Executive Political Committee. The following is its membership: Nicolae Ceausescu, Constantin Dascalescu, Elena Ceausescu, Manea Manescu, Gheorghe Radulescu, Emil Bobu, Gheorghe Oprea and Ion Dinca.

The Executive Political Committee also examined and set the measures for the fulfilment of the 14th RCP Congress resolutions. All these questions were addressed by Nicolae Ceausescu in a speech. The Executive Political Committee unanimously approved the ideas and orientations in his speech.

The members of the Executive Political Committee pledged that everyone in one's line of work and within the Executive Political Committee as a collective body would do one's best to fulfill all the tasks with a full sense of responsibility for the translation into fact of the documents adopted by the great Romanian communist forum.

Discusses Economic Matters

AU0112184989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1803 GMT 1 Dec 89

["Economic Questions Debated by the CC of the RCP Executive Political Committee"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 1/12/1989—In its December 1 meeting held under the chairmanship of Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, the Executive Political Committee [PEC] analyzed the steps to be taken for the integral fulfilment of the plan for December and for the whole year 1989. Special stress was placed on the necessity of fulfilling the export entirely, so as to ensure the production and delivery of the entire amount of goods stipulated in the contracts. Special heed was also paid to the preoccupations for the application of the programs of organization and modernization of the productive processes, of raising the products' quality, of increasing even more the productivity and economic efficiency.

The Executive Political Committee also analyzed a program of making all enterprises and products remunerative, as well as a program referring to the elimination of all oversized stocks. A report was then analyzed on the draft single national plan of socioeconomic development of Romania in 1990, the draft centralized financial plan of socioeconomic development and the draft state budget for 1990. It was decided that those documents be made final and advanced for debate and endorsement to the Grand National Assembly.

The Executive Political Committee also analyzed and established a work program for the making final and debate of the draft five-year plan for 1991-1995.

Upon the RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu's proposal, the same meeting endorsed the 10 per cent rise in all scholarships that are granted to students and pupils, including vocational school pupils. Likewise, the Executive Political Committee endorsed the proposal that all students, sons and daughters of workers and cooperative farmers, who attend full-time courses be granted scholarships irrespective of the parents' incomes.

Ceausescu Addresses Meeting

AU0112200589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1923 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech at the Meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 1/12/1989—Speaking on 1 December in the first meeting of the Executive Political Committee [PEC] after the 14th RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Congress and after the election of the Central Committee and of the Executive Political Committee of the Party's Central Committee on the measures that should be taken to fulfill the congress resolutions, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that all the conclusions should be drawn from the broad debate in the party and with all people, in congress, on the unfaltering implementation of the decisions that were made and of the programme-directive concerning Romania's future development.

Noting that the congress unanimously approved the past activity and adopted also by a unanimity of vote the programme and the report of the Central Committee on the party's activity in the next decade, the speaker showed that the work of the Central Committee, of the Executive Political Committee, of the Standing Bureau and the Secretariat, of the party organs and organizations, must be improved, as well as the activity of state bodies, of all the bodies of revolutionary worker democracy.

At this point it is essential to organize work and strengthen the sense of responsibility, order and discipline for the firm application of the laws and the party decisions. And we must start with the Executive Political Committee, he stressed, urging all the conclusions to be drawn from the past activity of the Executive Political Committee so that all higher leading bodies may better fulfill their role.

Many shortfalls were apparent in the past, which were also linked to the way the Executive Political Committee prepared and adopted certain measures but above all to the way it took action to put them to work, said Nicolae Ceausescu showing that a better preparation of the measures and decisions of that organism was required through a better knowledge of the facts in order that all the measures reflect the situation in the country, the material capacity, the force of the RCP and of the Romanian people. Let us make sure, he stressed, that the Central Committee and between plenary meetings the Executive Political Committee fulfill the role they have as collective bodies that discuss and make decisions for the best possible implementation of the development programmes. Urging the firm fulfilment of the statutory provisions concerning the permanent consultation of communists, of the local party organs, of the whole party and all people on the most important decisions, Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: We must not take any decision that has the character of general orientation that has not been discussed before with all party organs and organizations, with the whole party.

The speaker then showed that each member of the Executive Political Committee should have a growing responsibility for the fulfilment of all the decisions in the best conditions, for the application of the laws of the country.

We must also work as a collective body, but each and everybody must be also directly responsible for one sector of activity or another, said Nicolae Ceausescu. He added: While being held responsible for one particular domain, each must never forget that he or she is also held responsible for the way in which all the decisions are being applied in general. While considering that the principle according to which each member must report to the Executive Political Committee and to the Central Committee on his or her activity will have to be applied more firmly, the RCP general secretary also set forth the need to enhance the critical, and particularly self-critical stands, as an important working method with a view to improving activity continuously.

Due conclusions must be drawn in point of improving the activity of all the state bodies, the speaker went on, mentioning that the party bodies do not replace the government, the State Council or the managements of ministries, yet the communists working within these bodies are held responsible before the party of the way in which they carry out the tasks entrusted on them. The communists, the party members working in the government and in the managements of ministries must ensure proper progress in the activity of all the state bodies, with a view to a firm observation of the principle of collective work when debating problems and making decisions within these bodies.

It is absolutely necessary for us to put in absolute order the work style of the government and the ministries, of all the state bodies and the activity of all the bodies of our worker revolutionary democracy, said Nicolae Ceausescu while stressing the need to improve the activity of the county, town and commune party committees, of the people's councils, central managements and the councils of the working people.

The responsibility of the Grand National Assembly must grow, as well as that of the Grand National Assembly commissions, which, according to the law, play an active part in controlling the implementation of the laws by the government and by all the state bodies, added Nicolae Ceausescu.

The RCP general secretary referred to the plenary meeting of the Central Committee, to be organized this month, with a view to debating general problems, the formation of the CC commissions and to establishing due measures with a view to implementing the resolutions of the congress, and pointed out the need for organizational improvements in order to enhance the role of the National Committee for Science and Technology, the State Planning Committee and the financial-banking apparatus in point of following or ensuring the best implementation of the plans and programs of economic and social development.

Given a number of problems emerged in the area of trade and proper supplies to the population we shall have to take a special look at the current system of control and proper running of the apparatus in this sector. Within the general control we must also consider the workers' control which must be part and parcel of the general control, of the participation of the masses in the control of all the sectors of activity, said Nicolae Ceausescu.

Showing that it was imperative to put the finishing touches to the production organization, specialization and modernization programmes, Nicolae Ceausescu also called attention on the fact that a special programme was required to modernize the food and light industries, better organize the shopping network to meet the consumer demands. What I am thinking of is a programme that will solve all the problems in these fields in 2 years at the most the RCP general secretary said.

Showing that the international relations activity must also be improved, Nicolae Ceausescu said that relations should intensify with the socialist countries, with the developing countries, with the developed capitalist states in agreement with the general RCP policy orientations. I particularly want to stress the ties with the developing countries, he said. We must more broadly aid these countries and expand our cooperation with them, including through scholarships for general education and for higher learning, hence also in the political and social sciences.

We must work better, our performance must be better, Nicolae Ceausescu said in conclusion, showing that the focus of concern in the period ahead should be the implementation of the economic and social development programmes, the best possible fulfilment of the plan for this year and for next year, the thorough preparation of the next five-year plan, of the economic and social development programmes of rural communes, of towns and of counties, which ought to be also major themes for debate in party organizations and in preparation for the Grand National Assembly elections in spring.

Students Pleased by Measures

AU0212213989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 02/12/1989—The Council of the Union of Communist Students' Associations of the Bucharest University Center met on Saturday, 2 December, in an enlarged plenary meeting to express, on behalf of the studying youth in Romania's capital city, joy and satisfaction at the measures recently adopted by the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], at the initiative of the Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, to raise by ten per cent the stipends granted to students and pupils, those of vocational schools included, and to grant stipends to all students, sons of workers and cooperative farmers, irrespective of their parents' incomes.

Numerous participants addressed the plenary meeting voicing the gratitude of the Bucharest students, of all university youths for the conditions created by the RCP and the Romanian state for them to become thoroughly trained experts, competent builders of socialism and communism in Romania. They also stressed that, like all the domains of the Romanian economic and social life, education had permanently been granted a strong support asserting itself as an important factor of education and culture, and reiterated the pledge of the studying youth to achieve a new quality of work in the sphere of education and instruction, of scientific research, to score ever better results in learning and practical activities.

Suchlike thought and feelings were also expressed during the enlarged plenary meetings of the Councils of the Unions of Communist Students' Associations of the "Nicolae Balcescu" agronomic institute and the Law Faculty of Bucharest;

SCINTEIA on Economic Situation in Poland

AU0212214889

[Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 22 November 1989 carries on page 12 a 200-word report, citing the Polish Press Agency, PAP, on the economic situation in Poland, summed up by the Polish General Directorate of Statistics. SCINTEIA, quoting PAP, reports "tendencies of decreasing industrial output in October" compared to previous months. SCINTEIA also mentions that the number of jobs have been reduced monthly and "by 5.9 percent in October," while "prices increased." The worsening situation in agriculture and in energy and fuel output, which "decreased by 1.6 percent compared to the output in October last year" is also reported.

Sundic Comments on Bush-Gorbachev Meeting

LD0512094289 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] Provided the world, as Mikhail Gorbachev says, is now divorced from the cold war—and there is no reason to doubt his assessment of the 2-day talks with President George Bush off Malta—one may say without exageration that President Bush was right when he said before his talks with the Soviet leader that this was going to be a historic meeting. No one knows for certain the complete contents of the talks between George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev, at least, not regarding measures which should be taken to make the coming period of peace a lasting one, something that also implies the permanent abandonment of military, bloc, and economic divisions. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the two leaders have for the first time in the history of U.S.-Soviet relations realized, in advance, a mutual understanding regarding the destiny of their countries and the rest of the world; this has not been in evidence since their war-time alliance.

As may have been expected, no spectacular treaty was signed off Malta, but all the necessary conditions were created for successful cooperation in all spheres before their next meeting in June next year, when a significant turning point may probably be expected to take place in the sphere of disarmament. The very fact that George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev held a joint press conference—something that has never happened before—bears witness to the fact that a time has come when it is ever more difficult to talk and communicate outside world trends, regardless of the extent of the superpowers' influence on modern international developments.

George Bush had an easier job off Malta than Gorbachev, since the problems the Soviet leader faces are more delicate, but one gets the impression that U.S. President George Bush did not take advantage of his more advantageous position at this juncture. The head of the White House knows very well that the process of democratization in the Soviet Union has triggered off the democratic process in East Europe too, and that a failure by Gorbachev would outline new divisions and even graver confrontations between the East and the West. This was by all accounts crucial in making the two statesmen devote special attention to bilateral—primarily economic—relations, which is of great significance for the Soviet Union, not only at this juncture but in the future as well.

European issues were certainly dominant in the talks, particularly inter-German relations.

However, one does not get the impression that George Bush was concerned about Soviet opposition to Chancellor Kohl's views on German reunification, since Germany's European allies hold simular opinions. One could almost say that the United States understands the current Soviet position regarding German reunification, as it is encouraged by Soviet conduct over the changes in Eastern Europe.

Some hints, however, suggest that George Bush raised the problem of Soviet interference in Central America, but, in my opinion, this was done, among other things, to cushion some Soviet remarks about U.S. behavior in various parts of the world, including the Phillipines, where U.S. fighters took part in crushing the coup.

Notwithstanding the differences in the approach to certain problems and assessments of the situation in the world, Malta showed that at this juncture they are of negligible proportions compared to all the rest linking the two superpowers. The summit was certainly a successful one, and the fear of the rest of the world accompanying U.S.-Soviet negotations was the least ever.

LCY CC Session Delayed 'Until Further Notice'

LD0512093389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0757 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Dec (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium, at a session held yesterday, adopted the decision to postpone until further notice the Central Committee session scheduled for 6 December this year, because of the current political situation in the country and in order to prepare appropriate positions.

Further on Meeting

AU0512095489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 5 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has decided to postpone the session of the Central Committee convened for 6 December because of the political situation in the country and so respective positions may be prepared. No date for the session of the Central Committee has been fixed.

SAWPY Extraordinary Presidium To Meet 5 Dec

LD0212171289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Dec (TANJUG)—Instead of the regular session of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] Federal Conference Presidium, scheduled for 5 December, Jelena Milojevic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, has called an extraordinary meeting of the Presidium for that day to examine the current political situation in the country. The issues envisaged for the regular meeting of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium will be examined afterward.

Tupurkovski on Serbia, Slovenia 'Repression'

LD0312215289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 3 Dec 89

[Text] Skopje, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—The measures of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia originate from the arsenal of repression. No one has the right in Yugoslavia to base his own logic in overcoming intranational problems on coercion and repression. We talk about political and economic freedoms, we try to draw closer to civilization-orientated achievements in the expansion of the rights of the individual in the political and economic field, but we are taking repressive measures and implementing blockades—something which will not fail to have exceptionally serious implications for relations, and, I would say, for our community's prospects. For me, measures of both the one and the other are unacceptable.

Vasil Tupurkovski, a member of the SFRY Presidency, used these words in a special interview to Skopje television to assess the latest conflict between Slovenia and Serbia.

Presidency 'Dissatisfaction' Over Ljubljana

LD0412203889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1803 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—Today's session of the SFRY Presidency, chaired by Dr Janez Drnovsek, considered the current political situation in the country regarding the announced meeting in Ljubljana, the measures undertaken to prevent it, and the ensuing reactions. The SFRY Presidency, as stated, deemed that the political situation was dangerously exacerbated, especially regarding interethnic relations, which could divert our community from the implementation of necessary reforms and constitutional changes and could have very harmful effects on Yugoslavia's international reputation.

The SFRY Presidency expresses dissatisfaction because its stances and recommendations regarding the announced meeting have not been observed. The SFRY Presidency supports Federal Executive Council stances and assessments according to which measures undertaken in these events contravene the SFRY Constitution and present a serious threat to the integrity of the SFRY. The SFRY Presidency demands that the competent bodies assess the constitutional and legal basis of the measures undertaken regarding these events, and on this basis it will adopt stances and inform the public about them.

The SFRY Presidency, within the framwork of its constitutional authority, will do everything necessary to understand completely and comprehensively the problems that have arisen in connection with these events, and it will take the appropriate measures to resolve them. The Presidency, in accordance with its previous conclusions, will take steps and make a direct effort regarding cooperation between republics and provinces, and in particular between the Socialist Republic of Serbia and that of Slovenia, to overcome the present situation which threatens long-term harmful consequences.

The SFRY Presidency will resolutely advocate a consistent application of the SFRY Constitution, as well as respect for constitutionality and legality, human liberties and civil rights, equality of nations and nationalities, with the aim of democratically resolving social difficulties and developing our socialist community. The Presidency will make efforts toward the consistent protection of the constitutional order and preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia. It will insist on reducing inflation and implementing economic reform, as well as comprehensive reform of political and economic system, including drafting a new SFRY constitution.

'Crisis' of Federal Decisionmaking Explored

AU2811174089 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 25 Nov 89 p 2

[Danilo Slivnik article: "Attention, State Secret!"]

[Text] Admit it: Even if you are not inquisitive by nature, you would like to know what happened recently behind closed doors at the SFRY Presidency and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Presidium when the announcement of the "Meeting of Truth" was at the center of attention of the entire Yugoslav public. One's curiosity is aroused not only because of the great political tension that hit the Belgrade federal leadership when the question of the meeting appeared, but also because of the sequence of events that followed after it had been learned that the matter was in the hands of the two presidiums and when the eagerly awaited but highly controversial statement by the state Presidency was followed by the "dissenting opinions" by the two Slovene representatives in the Presidency, Janez Drnovsek and Janez Stanovnik.

Unfortunately, matters are not simple, for not only is it an utterly unpleasant business in our country to reveal "state secrets," but on most occasions one cannot learn anything at the most crucial times. In the past few days we activated all our journalistic information "connections," but the picture of the latest events in the two presidiums has nevertheless remained rather obscure, and it is not to be discounted that it may be inaccurate in some details. We have thus learned almost everything about the proportional force in the two presidiums when they discussed the request to prevent the Ljubljana meeting—for hardly anybody in Yugoslavia still has any doubt about its destructive power—and we have also learned, for instance, about the position of the representatives of the two most important departments, the Army and the police, on this matter, which is unpleasant for Slovenia. Veljko Kadijevic [federal secretary for National Defense] was certainly against the meeting, and Internal Affairs Minister Petar Gracanin seems to have been inclining toward favoring the meeting, which in a way is understandable for a man from the community from which he hails.

We have written on many occasions about the general relationship of forces in the two federal presidiums, and we can now safely say that after some oscillations from left to right in the past few months, it has now stabilized at about four to four, which at this moment is probably also the general relationship of political forces in Yugoslavia. We do not know whether this means that two long-term political coalitions have finally been formed in the country, but it is clear that all the blockages in the top state leadership and the operative impotence of the two presidiums arise from this: The presidiums are unable to adopt any essential political decision. It is now like this: The Slovenes, the Croats, the Bosnians, and the Macedonians are on one side, and the Serbs, the Vojvodina people, the Kosovo people, and the Montenegrins on the other. This relationship changes only when quite "specific problems" are on the agenda, when some members of the presidiums suddenly swing their votes to the "neutrals," or if they avoid some crucial decision by simply not attending a session. This happened for instance when the decision about dropping the case against Azem Vlasi was to be taken, and Riza Sapundziju quite unexpectedly abstained from voting on the "eastern" side; something similar is supposed to have happened last Wednesday, when the decision to ban the Ljubljana meeting was to be taken, but this time it happened on the "western" side: On the 2d day of the session, Janez Drnovsek remained quite alone in his positions, because immediately before the voting, his coalition "allies" apparently simply disappeared from the hall.

Something similar happened in the Party Presidium, except that the blockage there is even worse and the Presidium could not even agree on a most bland form of statement, which would at least inform the public that the session discussed the meeting. Thus the "Westerners" apparently even tried to propose a joint dissenting opinion, but, after a lengthy discussion, even that proposal failed because suddenly everybody except Stefan Korosec got cold feet, fearing that they excessively "exposed" themselves. But this was not an end to the events at the session because it is reported that one of the drafts of the statement that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidium opposes the meeting in Ljubljana was allegedly sent out to the republican Central Committees the next day. It is not clear whether this happened by mistake, but we know that Milan Pancevski himself signed the statement....

What can one say after all this? That the system of federal decisionmaking is in a complete crisis? That the members of the highest leaderships have no inkling of their responsibilities? Or perhaps even something worse? This is a matter of political judgment. We only know that the only way out of this anonymous "collective madness" is what Janez Drnovsek and Janez Stanovnik did on Thursday, when without any inhibition they stated what they thought and what they had advocated at the closed sessions of the SFRY Presidency.... At the same time, this is a new way for independent personalities to make their mark in Yugoslav politics.

Slovene SAWP Presidium Statement

LD0212051989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1649 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—The events of recent days, the blackmailing and threats, denigration and humiliation, were the culmination of the pressure on our commitment to life in a federal state community. The national and cultural diversity of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities is its development advantage rather than a hotbed of confrontations and disputes. Today Yugoslavia cannot be retailored along or based upon certain disputable symbols and values of yesterday.

This was stressed in a statement from today's session of the executive board of the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Republican Conference Presidium. The statement stressed that 1 December cannot possibly replace 29 November, the Republic Day. We stand for the consolidation of the familiar principles of our life together: for full recognition of national states, a modern federal state, an efficient, materially rich and technologically and developmentally advanced democratic federation, an equal part of the united Europe.

We have comitted ourselves to such a life in "the 1989 Charter of Slovenia," endorsed by the multitude of citizen's signatures of the Slovene Socialist Republic [SR], regardless of one's own nationality, and we also consolidated it by the amendments to the Constitution of the Slovene SR.

This is why we said, as we will say in the future, a resolute no to all attempts, whether stemming from genuine or percieved concern over the lives of Serbs and Montengrins in Kosovo, to introduce a new totalitarian social system. We do not accept an all- encompassing control of only one truth, political uniformity, authoritarianism and intolerance and ideological monoliths nor a centralist and unitarist state that would abolish the equality of nations and nationalites.

The decision to have the march on Ljubljana banned was accepted in the Slovene Assembly SR and received full support on the part of the citizens of Slovenia. The actions taken by the organs of internal affairs is an implementing of tasks of a state with the rule of law. We have defended the level of democracy achieved and the way of life in Slovenia by all legal means and so will we in the future.

Yugoslavia is our voluntary decision. We will not let anyone to excommunicate or drive us out of it. Yugoslavia is our state. We citizens of the Slovene SR have even the right to be different. He who does not acknowledge this is the one who excommunicates himself from the federal state. Imposing uniform political and life formulas, the demands to have differences erased by force, are leading Yugoslavia into a social system of fear, schism, and violence.

This is why we are astounded by the demand of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium which

is calling on all institutions, work organizations and other institutions of the Serbian SR, to severe their ties with Slovenia. We regard this as a flagrant violation of all constitutional, legal, and civilized norms.

We cannot understand that it is the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference Presidium which is the proponent of such ideas and appeals, the one which should look for ways of cooperation and understanding. In defending the sovereignty of the Slovene people, the Slovene SR and the AVNOJ-based [anti-fascist council of the national liberation of yugoslavia—fbis] Yugoslavia and standing for the implementation of good intranational relations, we resolutely reject the statement of the Serbian SAWP Republican conference presidium, it is said in the statement by the executive board of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium.

Slovene Presidency Says Situation 'Normal'

LD0112204689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1903 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the socialist republic [SR] of Slovenia, at today's session, on the basis of the report of the Executive Council of the SR of Slovenia Assembly and of the competent administrative organs, has stated that, despite some minor violations of the ban on the holding of meetings, life in the SR of Slovenia is going on completely as normal, without any disturbances or stoppages whatsoever.

As the Republican Committee for Information declares, in the assessment of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, this has been attributed above all to the high level of civil awareness of the inhabitants of the SR of Slovenia, as well as to the measures adopted by the executive organs and their consistent implementation.

The present situation confirms that the measures selected and implemented are justified, because they have ensured public order and peace and protected the life and property of citizens. The Presidency of the SR of Slovenia also stated that all the competent organs have operated in keeping with their authority and tasks.

Bitterness Toward Slovene Meeting Ban

LD0212225489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2026 GMT 2 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 2 (TANJUG)—In many places in Yugoslavia today, people show continuing bitter feelings in a decision made by the Republic of Slovenia's authorities to ban a meeting of Serbs and Montenegrins scheduled for Friday in Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia, and curb movements and rallies.

Concern for Yugoslavia's fate, its unity and the started democratization of relations within society, is the common characteristic of the protest meetings. The Slovenian authorities' decision is being experienced as a precedent, not exemplary for those who are verbally advocating democracy while in actual practice even closing the borders of their republic and hence jeopardizing the basic human rights and freedoms.

Meetings in the Republic of Montenegro tell the Slovenian leadership that it would have to explain how it had permitted a recent demonstration by Albanian chauvinists and separatists in the streets of Ljubljana, while it had wanted to use truncheons against the Serbs and Montenegrins who would approach the republic's border.

The Yugoslav state and party leaderships are demanded to halt the escalating separatism and the destruction of Yugoslavia, or resign if they are unable to preserve the country's unity. At quite a few meetings, the Yugoslav State Presidency, headed by President Dr Janez Drnovsek, is accused of incomprehensible silence at what is the country's fateful moment, and even Drnovsek's resignation is demanded.

It was announced in Ljubljana tonight that eight of the thirteen people arrested yesterday were fined by a city magistrate. One person was not punished, while proceedings against four were not yet completed. All the 13 people were released on Friday, the same day they were arrested.

Slovene Chamber of Economy Opposes Sanctions

AU0412192489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Following the appeal of the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia to working organizations to break all economic relations with Slovenia, the Slovene Chamber of Economy has recommended to working organizations in this republic that they carry out their business relations with Serbia normally and with respect for all business criteria.

The statement issued by the Slovene Chamber of Economy stresses that economic interests and legal obligations stipulated in the contracts must outweigh current political interests and it stresses that the workers' social welfare depends on good work.

This is why the Slovene Chamber of Economy is asking all working organizations to inform it about all breaches of business relations and to keep a record of possible damage caused by the break in business cooperation.

Congress of Tourist Agencies Congress in Slovenia

AU0412192289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] This year's congress of the trade associations of Yugoslavia's tourist agencies opened in Portoroz without the representatives of Serbia, Vojvodina, and Kosovo.

Montenegrin SAWP Condemns Slovene Leadership

LD0112214489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1818 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Titograg, 1 Dec (TANJUG)—We express our dismay at the decision of the Slovene leadership to prevent by force the holding of the meeting of truth and solidarity. Our dismay is all the greater because this is the same leadership which supported the use of force in Montenegro.

This is the stand taken by the Montenegrin SAWP [Socialist Alliance of Working People] Presidium at today's extraordinary session held in connection with the ban on the meeting of truth in Ljubljana. Proceeding from the expression of the mood of the working people and citizens of this republic, the Presidium warned that the political and state organs of Slovenia must realize that their attitude gives rise to unforseeable consequences for the unity of Yugoslavia because it destroys the equality of its nations and nationalities.

It is the legitimate right of every nation, it was said at the session, to express its views on its existential problems in the forms which suit it best at a given time. The disenfranchised Serbs, Montenegrins, and other Yugoslav-orientated inhabitants of Kosovo—Albanians, Turks, Muslims, Croats, Slovenes, and others—wanted to acquaint the fraternal Slovene nation with the daily suffering which they are experiencing in Kosovo.

It is therefore contradictory and cynical that the leadership which suspends elementary human rights in a forceful manner should talk about the free flow of ideas, goods, and people, about the waiving of frontiers between states and nations, and inclusion in European currents. It has confirmed with its contradictions that it is not interested in democracy, nor in a law-governed state.

In keeping with its Yugoslav orientation, the Montenegrin SAWP Republican Conference Presidium today expressed its great concern of the situation which has arisen in connection with these events, expressing at the same time its firm conviction that in our country only a spirit of unity and tolerance, freedom, democracy, and mutual understanding can be a guarantee of a stable Yugoslavia.

Therefore, the session resulted in a request to the SFRY Presidency and to the Yugoslav Assembly that they take urgent measures to protect order and the constitutional rights of working people and citizens. In this connection, their responsibility for the events which have taken place is also pointed out. In this vein, an extraordinary session of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia Federal Conference has been sought.

Sabac Firms Break Economic Ties With Slovenia

AU0412145889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 4 Dec

[Text] So far, more than 20 Sabac work organizations, among them Zorka Chemical Industries, have decided to break their economic ties with numerous Slovene firms. Today the Sabac Agroindustrial Combine decided to do the same.

Kosovo Presidium Supports Serbian Party Appeal

LD0112193389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1257 GMT 1 Dec 89

[Text] Pristina, 30 Nov (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference supports the views and stands of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference as expressed in its appeal to the people of the republic and made in connection with a decision and measures by the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to curb the movement of the SFRY citizens, a statement issued following today's session states.

The reason behind this decision by the Socialist Republic of Slovenia organs is the announced arrival and the desire of Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, and members of other nations and nationalities from Kosovo to meet the people of Slovenia and tell them the truth about Kosovo.

It is now even more obvious what kind of "democracy" is at work in Slovenia when a meeting and the desire through contacts and with bread and salt to present the truth, and the wish for the fraternal Slovene people to accept and extend the hand of encouragement and support in the struggle for safeguarding the SFRY's territorial integrity can cause such panic and fear.

Macedonia Refuses To Fund Serbian Memorial

AU2811152789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 89 p 3

[TANJUG report: "Not a Dinar for Serbian Memorials"]

[Text] Skopje, 16 Nov—Graves and monuments from the Balkan Wars [between Serbia, Bulgaria, and Turkey in 1912, and Serbia and Bulgaria in 1913] cannot be considered cultural and historical monuments, and can still less be considered equal to those from the National Liberation War and the Ilinden Uprising [Macedonian uprising against the Ottoman Empire in 1903]. The Balkan Wars were wars of conquest and oppression, and World War I was an imperialist war. Macedonia considers that there is no need to maintain the graves. Anyone who wants to can please himself.

These sharp views issued from the committee discussions of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, among plenty of similar opinions, and alongside a condemnation of past and present attempts to extract

from Macedonia special treatment of graves and monuments from the Balkan Wars and World War I.

It was concluded that there can be no grounds for the attempts coming from Serbia to show that Macedonia was liberated in the Balkan Wars and World War I. In conclusion, amazement was expressed at colleagues in Serbia equating the Prohor Pcinski monastery with the Serbian war graves. The question arose of who is personally responsible for having sold the Macedonian territory on which the monastery is situated.

Macedonian Graffiti Express Nationalism

AU2211161589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4-5 Nov 89 p 2

[Dragan Nikolic article: "Red-Black Guerrillas"]

[Text] "Political graffiti" is something new in Macedonian "street democracy." It is written by the "guerrillas" [komita] (as the supporters of the Vardar Soccer Club call themselves), as well as by "political guerrillas"; the "political graffiti" of the latter is distinguished by red and black colors. The "guerrillas" were first seen in the streets of Skopje "cloaked in red-black vestments" after the recent short and seemingly unsuccessful meeting of ecologists. Causing commotion in the streets, they appeared once again after their team played a game. Their current position in the league is not very "rosy." Their favorite red-black slogans are "Thessaloniki is ours," "Prohor Pcinski is ours" [monastery in Serbia where the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Macedonia had its session], "United Macedonia," "Cento" (first president of Macedonia who was a victim of "Macedonian Bolshevism"), "Who Killed Racin" (many people think that he, too, was a victim of "Bolshevism"), "Gemidzije" (Macedonian terrorists of the beginning of the century), and the like.

Historical Feeling of Endangerment

The "political graffiti" does not appear only in Skopje, but also in some provincial towns. According to NOVA MAKEDONIJA, a 19-year-old "guerrilla," S.S., made a reply (it is not said to whom) which was "brief, aggressive, full of anger, and negatively charged": "I write graffiti because you do not write it, because my father does not speak about it, because the politicians do not do so, and nobody speaks about it. You are afraid; you are all cowards, but I am a Macedonian. We have been trampled upon all our lives and have not been recognized, and we have kept quiet. Thessaloniki and Prohor Pcinski are ours, and we will go and liberate them."

Thus, the rather long list of those who in our country think that they are being "trampled upon" (some by the minority people and some by the majority people) is extended to the Macedonians. Dr Stojan Kiselinovski, from the Institute for National History, attributes this occurrence to the "subconscious." He says that a historical feeling of being threatened is present in the subconscious of the people in Slovenia. According to him, "graffiti dissatisfaction" is nothing but an "expression of the collective national dissatisfaction, which a brave individual publicly expresses under the cover of the night." Kiselinovski believes that "the strivings of individuals and the national collective cannot be expressed realistically through the mass media, and therefore one resorts to graffiti." He says that "the graffiti warns that there is a gap between what the state thinks and what the people think," as well as that "the graffiti writers are not aware of the political, psychological, and moral weight of their gesture." According to him, ultimately "graffiti is produced by tectonic political events in the country, which concern basic political principles on which the state rests."

On the Margin of Political Monopoly

Blagoje Handzijski, member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, says that "Thessaloniki may be captured in a thousand ways, but not in the way chosen by these young people." Nevertheless, he is against using the words "anti- Macedonians and their nationalism," because this is "a reaction that is quite in place," because both in the country and in the republic, "little is being done for the rights of the members of the Macedonian people in the neighboring countries." Handzijski says that "the Macedonian now also feels endangered because of the negation of his originality in the country." Jovan Korubin, lecturer in sociology, says that it is a matter of "a consciousness that has long lived under pressure," and a matter of "self-assertion which is being rationalized in many ways and which is unconsciously passing into nationalism." Risto Ivanov, leader of the Macedonian Youth, believes that the graffiti have been caused by "the fear of what is happening in Yugoslavia," as well as "the new times in which one can write just about everything." He said that "graffiti dissatisfaction must not develop into nationalism" and that "the content of the graffiti does not convince him that it is a matter of nationalism, but rather a matter of awakened and aroused national consciousness."

According to some, political graffiti is nothing but "an accompaniment of democratization," and, according to others, they show that "democratization is still far away from democracy." According to some, political graffiti is "a by-product of democratization," and, according to others, it is "an expression of democratic needs which have been restricted." In any case, it is a new Macedonian occurrence about which both the politicians and the sociologists will have much to say. It seems, however, it is in somehow correlated to "the new political identity" of the young people of this republic, to whom the door to politics was widely opened 18 years ago when the "liberals" were overthrown, but it is now said that the door has not been used.

On the contrary, the young people had to withstand long years of "ideological coercion" by the state and party authorities. It is said that they were pushed aside by a political monopoly that closed their political as well as

social prospects. Young people of Macedonia include a large percentage of "social cases" (140,000 unemployed). They reckon that at their forthcoming congress, they will themselves take what has been promised to them; preparations are being made to form a new political organization and to begin their march to occupy delegate seats in the assembly. The Youth organization is not satisfied with mere participation in decisionmaking, but also demands its share of power, Risto Ivanov said. The new statute of this organization will not say that "the youth organization accepts and agrees with the program tenets of the League of Communists" and the intention is to arrive at its own program for political competition and to make the youth organization shed "party sectarianism and monopoly," in whose shadow it vegetated for 40 years.

This is heralded as the beginning of a new, more democratic organization. Anyhow, the two leading persons of the Macedonian Youth (Risto Ivanov, president, and Ruse Nelkovski, secretary) have also left the Macedonian Trade Unions, renouncing with some irony "the benefits regarding supplies" and announcing a different manner of trade union organization. It seems that the existing political organizational structures in Macedonia, "headed by the vanguard," have begun to be seriously questioned. It is said that "they have exhausted their possibility of expressing authentic interests." It seems that the leadership of the Macedonian Youth wants "political pluralism" in deeds and wants "the political monopoly of the League of Communists to be destroyed."

"Political graffiti" in all this seems to be "folklore expressed in extreme terms."

Macedonian LC on Preparations for Congress

AU2611150389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Nov 89 p 3

[I. Torov and N. Batkovski report: "In Search of Ways of Eliminating Dogma up Front"]

[Excerpts] Skopje, 31 Oct—Today, a little less than 1 month before the start of the 10th congress of the League of Communists [LC] of Macedonia, the Central Committee of the Macedonian LC discussed the results of the public debate on the main documents for the forthcoming congress.

The first introductory speaker, Mihail Danev, was of the opinion that the public debate on the report on the work between two congresses, apart from few critical remarks, fully supported the assessments. It was assessed that the report has presented a realistic and critical picture of the past work. Danev said that only the Electro-Struga basic LC organization rejected this congress document, but that it did not explain why.

The public debate has demonstrated that the majority of the membership is in favor of deep changes in the LCY and the three reforms. These are the main conditions to preserve the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] character of Yugoslavia and to continue Tito's road. [passage omitted]

Svetomir Skaric said that the document "The Macedonian LC in the Struggle for Democratic Socialist Development and Richer Life" aroused great interest among the membership and the public.

Contrary to many opinions that there is a high degree of ideopolitical unity regarding changes in the economic system, the facts show that the LCY is more united on the document concerning political changes.

Speaking about political pluralism, Skaric stressed that the documents for the Macedonian LC congress clearly state that political entities can operate within the Socialist Alliance of Working People, as well as outside it, if they think that the Socialist Alliance of Working People does not sufficiently express their interests. We are in favor of a democratic and public verification of the program documents of all political entities, regardless of whether they are in the Socialist Alliance of Working People or not. [passage omitted]

"One Member—One Vote" Unacceptable

The unity and organizational disposition of the LCY is not viewed in the Macedonian LC from the position of monolithism. The view held here is that one should respect independence and the specific features of all parts of the LCY, as well as the orientation toward dialectical unity between the whole and its parts. The interests of different parts should be harmonized through a democratic synthesis. The cohesive and integrative role of the LCY is of the crucial importance in the defense of the interests of the whole and the Yugoslav orientation. On this basis one should arrive at the unity of the whole in a democratic way, and overcome tendencies toward and the practice and temptations of centralism and particulism with the absolutization of the general or the specific

In this context the demand for organizing and acting in the LCY on the basis of the principle "one man—one vote" expressed in the public debate is unacceptable. We demand that the LCY Central Committee retains the principle of equality and equal representations of all parts of the LCY. (Mirce Tomovski)

Danev Withdraws His Candidacy

Late in the afternoon, Mihail Danev, secretary of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium and one of the candidates for the president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, informed the Macedonian LC Central Committee that he wants to step down as candidate for member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee and, thus, as its president.

Explaining his decision, Danev said, among other things, that in the past period he was subjected to a special kind

of unscrupulous campaign and unprincipled disqualifications. He mentioned three specific examples:

—Claims that he was in favor (and allegedly the inspirer) of demolishing walls surrounding only the houses of Albanian families. Danev rejected this allegation.

—That the rumor is being spread that he is against the Aegean Macedonians. He said that this was a filthy lie because his best school friends in Bitola were in fact the Aegean Macedonians.

—In Stip, which is his constituency, he did not receive the support as candidate for the president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee. Some individuals in this town, especially the secretary of the Communal Committee of the Stip LC, Risto Ljubotenski, are spreading rumors about an alleged clash between him and the president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, Jakov Lazaroski.

Therefore, Danev was of the opinion that it would be good to step down as candidate for member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee since it is possible that the congress would not elect a president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee in view of the statutory obligation that there should be several candidates. [sentence as published] He asked the Central Committee to propose a new candidate for this post by the next congress.

Danev said that he had explained this at the session of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium and that this body had rejected his demand.

A discussion about this is still going on. [passage omitted]

On the proposed list of candidates for the organs of the Macedonian LC and the LCY from Macedonia, which will be open until the congress, there are 107 candidates of which only 81 will be elected. Almost one half of them are from the production sector. This was stated by Cvetko Veljanovski, president of the Commission for Cadre Preparation of the 10th congress of the Macedonian LC. At today's plenum of the Macedonian Communists, the candidates for the president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee are Mihail Danev and Petar Gosev. They received the unreserved support of the delegates of communal organizations trough a secret ballot and direct elections. Gosev received the support of 3,212 delegates of communal conferences while Danev received the support of 1,976 delegates.

Veljanovski then proposed candidates for the secretary of the political-executive organ of the Macedonian LC Central Committee that were put forward by communal organizations. These are: Tito Petkovski, Mirece Tomovski, and Todor Cuskarovski.

Five candidates were proposed for members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium: Milan Pancevski, Ljubomir Varoslija, Cvetko Veljanovski, Svetomir Skaric, and Blagoja Handzinski.

The following were proposed as candidates for the president of the Statutory Commission of the Macedonian LC Central Committee: Petar Kalajdzinski, Hranislav Madzovski, and Bozidar Pedovski. Mitko Ilioski and Ilija Joldasevski were proposed as candidates for president of the Supervisory Commission.

Macedonian LC Congress Begins Session

LD2611064789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0950 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Skopje, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—The 10th congress of the Macedonian League of Communists [LC] began in Skopje this morning. Taking part in the work of the congress, which will last 3 days, are 657 delegates and guests. The introductory report will be delivered by Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Macedonian LC Presidium.

The congress is expected to work in plenary sessions in five commissions. The delegates will discuss the report on the work in the intercongress period, and are expected to adopt the program document, "The Macedonian LC in the struggle for democratic, socialist development and a better life," and changes to the statute. At the end of the congress, a new central committee will be elected as well as candidates for the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] organs and delegates to the 14th LCY Congress.

Lazaroski Opens Congress

LD2611072689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0110 GMT 25 Nov 89

[Text] Skopje, 25 Nov (TANJUG)—We are holding the 10th congress of the Macedonian League of Communists [LC] in one of the most difficult periods of the postwar development of our country. It is a period of tumultuous and historical changes in socialism in the world and of pronounced contradictions in the modern world in general. For more than a decade we have been living in a profound social crisis. In this intercongress period it has escalated to the level of a threat to social security in society, manifesting itself in dramatic conflicts in interethnic and political relations in the country.

Lazaroski said that the tasks this congress has before it are indeed historical: to provide a realistic and objective analysis of the social situation, and what is even more important, to serve as a landmark for the new era—for social reforms, for a new concept of democratic socialism. For this, the de-etatization of social reproduction and the de-monopolization of politics are the key issues of change in the model of economic and political organization, and therefore of the position and role of the LC.

A critical analysis of social reality clearly shows that the etatist [state socialism] model of the economy is historically exhausted. In suppressing the market economy, economic laws, and political pluralism, we are, in fact, treading ground that has no healthy or firm foundations.

With normativism, we have lived in an atmosphere satiated with predetermined social relations, in other words, in a great contradiction and lack of harmony between the proclaimed and the feasible. The very complex social processes and exacerbated contradictions were neglected. This suited our concept of the role of social subjects and our idea of their absolute power, of the fact that everything they envision and desired could be achieved, ignoring what was realistic and possible. Thus the picture of the role and character of the LC was also mystified and (?dogmatized).

The development of an awareness of the need for changes took too long. This process unfolded with great difficulty, with many confrontations and conflicts. Even in the LC itself for a long time, there remained differences in ideas on the character, directions, and aims of the reform. Above all, as a result of pressures from the dogmatized consciousness over the character and aims of socialism and the stubborn dependence on the historically exhausted model of etatist socialism, the social contradictions amassed and suppressed over the years have created precisely in this period serious disturbances in organizing social relations and solving the most pressing social problems. The existing systemic solutions have not only become a too-narrow framework, but have also become a cause of the great indignation and dissatisfaction of working people and citizens in the face of the failure to resolve their vital problems and interests.

All this has strongly influencd the need for changes in the position, role, and method of activity of the LC. The stance has also taken shape that it is the model of a state party and party state that is one of the key causes of the deepening of the crisis. [TANJUG take 2 not received]

This is why we are talking today about renewed socialism, the essence of which does not lie only in what kind of socialism do we want, but rather in what is realistically possible, on the basis of a critical analysis of social reality—socialism in which continuity is impossible, not only with the etatist concept of development, but also with the monopoly of politics.

Party awareness is increasingly ridding itself of ideological dogmas and this is imposing the need for redefining the basic social categories: market economy, ownership, capital, labor, law-governed state, human rights and freedoms, democracy, self-management, parties. There are fewer and fewer reservations about direct secret elections with several candidates. It is increasingly clear that the vanguard nature of the LC cannot be equated with political monopoly. It has become more than clear that these are key issues, relevant both to socialism at large and on a world scale.

Jakov Lazaroski then turned to the 3 and 1/2-year period of serious social and economic crisis in Macedonia. According to him, it is not just the product of a heritage of underdevelopment or a mistaken choice of investment and the irrational behavior of political and economic subjects. The crisis is, in essence, the product of the existing economic and political system, which created the basis for strengthening voluntarism in investment policies, for expanding the process of spending what has not been earned, for alienating surplus value, and for increasing the impoverishment of the economy.

The results of the efforts to overcome the crisis would perhaps have been better if Macedonia had not been faced with accumulated and long-term social problems. Because of this, action was mainly directed toward solving them, or rather alleviating them. Certain results have been achieved, but the main negative characteristics of the Macedonian economy have remained.

These are an unfavorable economic structure and low level of technology, and also unemployment that is unabated, economic, and financial consolidation, and so on.

The basic characteristic of the situation in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia in this period is, of course, slow economic growth and enormous growth in inflation, Lazaroski continued. This has had a strong effect, he said, on the limitation of funds intended for the standard of living of the population. Real personal incomes have drastically declined, thereby increasing the gap in relation to the average earned personal income for the country as a whole, and the social dimension of personal income in the SR of Macedonia has become dominant.

If to all this we add the increasing backwardness in the degree of development of the republic in relation to the average level of the country, particularly in relation to the more developed areas, it becomes more than obvious that the social crisis is deepening, and, as a consequence of this, the political dissatisfaction of working people and citizens in the republic is growing.

The waves of strikes have been one of the main characteristics of this period. They have shown dramatically that the limits of the elementary standard of living are increasingly being exceeded, that unemployment is an enormous economic, social, and moral problem in the republic, that cases of violations of constitutionality and legality should be eradicated, and that the limitations, blockages, and slowness in the existing economic and political system should be effectively overcome. Strikes and other forms of expressing dissatisfaction have confronted us with a completely new social and political ambience, which has begun to put great pressure on the work of the leading structures in the economy, on the organs of government and self-management, on the organs of sociopolitical organizations and communities in the municipalities and the republic. Demands have begun to be made increasingly openly for social and political democracy, for openness in work, for the question of accountability to be constantly effected.

This new political ambience has created a broader mood and awareness in the republic seeking social reforms. The first conference of the Macedonian LC marked a turning point in this respect in political orientations and concepts in the republic.

This new process has also experienced its own birth pangs. The existing social awareness developed over the years of socialism as a society without conflict, the delays in changes and the differences present in the leaderships of the country over these changes have created confusion amongst the public, and even distrust with regard to the changes. The decline in the standard of living, the enormous inflation and the state of disinvestment have, on the other hand, created a sense of lack of prospects. The open processes of the de-etatization of social reproduction, the break with the practice of state interventionism and economic voluntarism, and openness in work have created political resistance toward the changes and even political conflicts in the republic. This resistance and these conflicts have shown themselves in specific social strata.

They have manifested themselves in a typical way, particularly at the time of electoral activities and in the periods of concrete political actions, they have been accompanied by waves of petit-bourgeois behavior, rumors and political intrigues, which have also found a place in a section of the press in the republic and in the country.

The unsatisfactory results in the radical changing of the social situation and such phenomena, on the other hand, have created an increasingly critical attitude amongst the public towards the LC, and furthermore toward the leadership in the republic.

Political relations in the SR of Macedonia were also considerably hampered in this period by the escalation of Albanian nationalism and separatism and the cooling of interethnic relations in the SR of Macedonia.

We have also faced individual cases of Macedonian nationalism. They have mainly been expressed through individual and verbal manifestations, and more recently through the increasingly frequent phenomenon of writing slogans with nationalistic content in public places, the politicization and misuse of social and sporting events, and so on. These phenomena have appeared as a reaction to the activity of Albanian nationalism and separatism, as a reaction to other nationalisms in the country, as a reaction to the unfavorable socioeconomic, social and political situation in the country, particularly in the republic, and particularly as a reaction to the position of the Macedonian national minority in neighboring countries and the negative attitude of neighboring countries toward the SR of Macedonia and the Macedonian nation.

The political mood in Macedonia in this period has also been affected by the increasingly frequent cases in journalism and a section of the public information media in the republic and the country, the numerous different interpretations of the events and personalities from the history of the Macedonian nation and the history of the Communist Party of Macedonia-Macedonian LC. Some of these arose as the consequence of instances of the negative politicization and ideologization of history and have had serious ideopolitical implications for the mood of the public at large, particularly among the younger generation in the republic.

An exceptionally important factor in the (lack of) stability of political relations in the republic has been the political relations and situation in the country and the LCY. Cases of polycentric etatism have led to compartmentalization, isolation, and opposition to etatist republican and provincial structure. This has hampered integrational processes and functions in the Yugoslav federal community and has made room for artificial, and sometimes almost aggressively imposed, differences and divisions. Their national separation, typical in bureaucratic and retrograde awareness and ideology, has been directly opposed to the unity of interests, historical experiences, and prospects of the working class in this country.

Not infrequently the LC itself—its organs and leadership—have been advocates of such ideas and processes, and we have even been faced with the phenomenon of the LCY Central Committee being transformed into an open stage for the struggle for supremacy of national bureaucracies and politocracies. It has become more than clear that the ideological and political cloak beneath which they are hiding—and particularly through their insistance on the relevance of outdated dilemmas—is nothing other than an extremely unacceptable concept of interethnic relations in the SFRY. Among these are increasingly put forward, like antipodes, on the one hand, separatism with a confederal system for the country, and on the other the already superseded centralism and unitarism. In essence, these are nationalistic concepts that both lead to the destruction of the SFRY.

The roots of such phenomena are deeply embedded in the socioeconomic system of the country, a system that has made it possible for a large number of economic decisions at the level of the federation to be made on the basis of "the relation of forces," and not on the basis of clear criteria and principles, put to use in the service of realizing the most favorable variants for the socioeconomic development of the country.

The concept of the self-sufficiency of municipalities and republics, as territorial-political communities, has caused the country to disintegrate and has increased conflict situations to extreme limits. Municipalities and federal units have been put in the position of having to give more thought to the redistribution of the social product than to the question of how to increase it, and so on. In such a system, national bureaucracies have concealed their own shortcomings, transferring the blame to other nations and other sections of the working class, claiming that "their nation," "their working class" is being robbed by the syphoning off in various ways of income, that others are living at their expense, that it is they who are facilitating their more-rapid development, and there have even been alleged theories on the greater self-awareness of some rather than others, to the extent that some will see it as a historical injustice that they

have found themselves in particular circumstances involved with the less self-aware, the less able, and so on.

The result of such anti-Yugoslav and hostile platforms in some parts of the country is that we were faced with speculation about the national, social, and political identity of the Macedonian nation, particularly with articles in a section of the public press in the country on the SR of Macedonia as an "artifical creation," a "bankrupt nation," an "anti-Albanian environment," and an "undecided environment."

Such typical writing on the SR of Macedonia in a section of the press in the country aimed to tendentiously depict the situation in Macedonia as extremely unfavorable and unacceptable, and consequently to diminish its contribution to the development of the country.

Such political relations and state of affairs in the LCY and the country have made room for strengthening antisocialist and anti-self-managing tendencies in society.

Jakov Lazaroski went on to speak about the Kosovo drama, which he said is escalating. It is not a contentious fact, he said, that the aggressive and brutal form of activity of the Albanian nationalists and separatists has necessarily evoked one of the most serious consequences—the exacerbation of interethnic relations in the country. Contributing to this has been the tolerance of differences in the LCY in connection with assessments of the situation and activity in Kosovo, and the failure to implement or the debatable implementation of the policies and conclusions of the LCY on Kosovo. This creates fear and uncertainty among people and represents a form of political pressure, not only on the state organs, but also on all those who are investing efforts to stabilize the situation in Kosovo.

With the recent exacerbation of the social and political crisis in certain parts of the country, we are encountering increasingly aggressive attempts to politically contest and disqualify the personality, role, and works of Josip Broz Tito. They are acquiring the form of coherent platforms and synchronized ideological, propaganda and everyday political public statements and pressures by advocates of nationalistic and anti-communist viewpoints. Examples of this are to be found in certain proposals on the so-called free and critical reexamination of the historical role of Josip Broz Tito and public political activity via various public platforms, statements, articles, and interviews, which is acquiring the dimensions of an increasingly intensive political-propaganda campaign.

In such complex and controversial circumstances, the LCY got entangled in its own federalization. National entities have increasingly been unfolding within the party without an ideological and political platform capable of mobilizing and directing the critical energies of the membership and working class toward overcoming the crisis.

All this constitutes an attack on the LCY's ideological and action unity and triggers conflict-ridden situations among certain parts and leaderships of the LCY, which threaten to evolve into confrontations between certain nations and nationalities in the country.

This is the reason for the crisis of relationships within the LCY, the unpenetrable blockade of its action, and even for pushing the LCY onto the margins and transforming it into a factor of stagnation and social deformation. The LCY CC, its Presidium, and the central and provincial committees are the last to be exempt from responsibility for this issue.

All these tendencies have directly influenced relations and the atmosphere in the SR of Macedonia, particularly the repeated raising of a number of very significant questions, such as the position of the SR of Macedonia as an undeveloped republic—and in this context the implementation of its status along the principles of interethnic relations in the SR of Macedonia—settling relations in the federation, and looking after the national and political rights and freedoms of those parts of the Macedonian nation who live in neighboring countries as minorities.

We have made an exceptional and significant contribution through our extremely clear and critical attitude toward the phenomena of the federalization of the LCY, toward the phenomena of the destruction of the ideological and action unity of the LCY, and the phenomena of unprincipled confrontations between the leaderships and parts of the LC, Lazaroskio said. This was achieved decisively through constant insistence that differences be overcome on the basis of a principled and well-argued dialogue and in the framework of LC organs as the basic and main way of resolving problems. However, Lazaroski pointed out, it is precisely the principled approach and the practical behavior of the Macedonian LC Central Committee and its Presidium that is presented in a section of the press in the country in a tendentious way as "the failure of Macedonian policy to decide," and ironic words are said about the Yugoslav orientation of Macedonia.

The basic characteristic of Macedonian LC action in the period between congresses is the endeavor to set about resolving the vital interests and problems of the working class and working people in the republic, particularly the endeavor to resolve these problems in the framework of the institutions of the system. Along with this statement, Lazaroski also self-critically analyzed the weaknesses and inconsistences in LC activity.

We can still not be satisfied with the action mobility and effectiveness of the members, organizations, and organs of the Macedonian LC, particularly the still powerfully present phenomena of passivity, opportunism, vacillation, and inconsistent and ineffective action. This is why we have been confronted in this intercongress period

with the incomplete realization of conclusions and stances adopted at sessions of the Macedonian LC Central Committee.

The radical moves put forward in implementing the role of the LC, Lazaroski went on, have also not been achieved because of their alienation from their own social bases, something that is reflected in the unfavorable situation, developments, and changes in the structure of the membership of the Macedonian LC. Particularly worrying is the statistic that of a total membership of 6,169 who have abandoned the Macedonian LC for all three reasons, 36.9 percent are workers. At the same time the fact must be borne in mind that the process of leaving the LC will gather even more steam—something that is indicated by the debates among the membership on the congressinal documents unless the congresses resolve the key questions of the transformation of the LC and social reforms.

In addition to this, Lazaroski said that the main obstacle to achieving better results in the work of the Macedonian LC in this period is the overwhelming dogmatic consciousness and practice in implementing the party's social position. There are widespread occurrences of looking for answers and solutions to the questions, which are naturally and logically under the authority of the self-management, management, and state organs, in the LC and its organs, and particularly in the Macedonian LC Central Committee. The inertia and inefficiency of these organs has also contributed to this.

Due to this pressure everything that happened—or to be more precise, everything that has been done or has not been done by the competent organs—in the republic in whatever sphere used to be passed on to the Central Committee and its Presidium. The responsible and guilty people are being sought in the Macedonian LC Central Committere and its Presidium. This has created an absurd and controversial situation that has brought about the gravest consequences for the Macedonian LC Central Committee and its organs and bodies. In this way the Macedonian LC's work is being blocked, the links with the party grass roots are deteriorating while the practical and political results of the Macedonian LC's activities are being reduced.

On the other hand all this has led to a wave of criticism aimed at the LC, to the attempts to devalue its role, and to push its action onto the margins. As a result, in this period in the republic a pronounced politicization of the situation in some municipalities has taken place as well as of the responsibility for the situation in certain organizations of associated labor, the work of the municipal institutions and their executive organs, culminating in occurrences of negative politicization and creating the so-called "Macedonian cases" (Feni, Vevcani, the Lake of Dojran, the case of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs.)

Besides these, a series of other factors of a political nature have had a negative impact on the results of Macedonian LC action in this period. There was the widespread phenomenon of criticism of the mistakes and failures in past stages of development, of the present leadership, and even suggestions that the causes of the social crisis are to be sought in it, regardless of the fact that its causes go back much further in history and the fact that the crisis itself has been going on for more than 10 years. There have been expressed attempts to block and attack LC action on the part of the alienated centers of economic and political power in the economy and politics, which are still very much in evidence.

However, Lazaroski added, in all this the fact must be borne in mind that the present weaknesses in the work of the organs of the Macedonian LC cannot be justified only by the objective conditions in which they operate and the weaknesses of other social and political subjects. It is also a matter of insufficient adaptation in the complex socioeconomic situation. There has to be insistence on an even more complete practical program of implementing our own stances, on the basis of which greater mobilization and the creativity of the membership would be achieved.

Jakov Lazaroski devoted the concluding part of his speech to the program document proposed for the congress, dwelling in particular on reforms of the economic and political system, and on the transformation of the LC.

Speaking about the reform of the economic system and the new development concept of Macedonia, Lazaroski pointed to the radical abandonment of the etatist conception of socialism. This means not only the abandonment of entremely outdated and simplified ideological formulas in which socialism is identified with the state, the authorities, the party, and the plan, but also of ideological lies that socialism is a blueprint in which exploitation, class, and social differences, poverty and political mediation do not exist, or are abolished by simple administrative or political intervention or by themselves.

Through the reform of the economic system, Lazaroski pointed out, we are opting for a market economy and for the stance we wrote into the LCY program in the fifties but which, unfortunately, we only wrote about. We are oriented toward economic coercion instead of administrative-bureaucratic management and abitrary decision-making in the economy. We are for an economic system based on the market valuation of all the factors of production—goods and services, capital, labor, and know-how.

Lazaroski, in this framework, also pointed to the orientations for the equal treatment of all forms of ownership and to the concept of an integral market and a realistic dimension of, and scope for, self-management in the current stage of social development.

We, lazaroski said, are for a radical new role of the state in the conditions of market-oriented economic activity, something that implies moving away from direct state

interference in the rights and responsibilities of the economic subjects themselves. Therefore, we advocate that the new constitutional solutions define precisely the basic economic functions of sociopolitical communities. In the process, the federal state must carry out effectively its macroeconomic functions appropriate to modern states engaged in a market-oriented economic activity, something that also means a new developmental concept of the republic as an integral part of the country's economic development.

Lazaroski also spoke about reforming the political system, stressing that it must be in keeping with the demands of the market economy, ensuring the economic and social efficacy of the system, and ensuring everyone a better and more humane life. In this framework, he pointed to the orientation for the development of the political system, which will be based on citizens' subjectivity and on the human being as a creator. This means a system in which the power of people, based on the inalienable rights of citizens, will be realized. Here we also accept the scope of bourgeois democracy, which we view as the expression of historical continuity and the general human struggle for progress.

Lazaroski particularly stressed the commitment to freedom and the right to associate politically as a direct expression of citizens' individual freedoms and rights, and the guarantee of democratic control over the state and authorities. The development of political pluralism also implies citizens' rights to organize themselves and associate within the Socialist Alliance of Working People, but also outside it if they find this framework too restricting to accommodate such association. The bottom line is the democratic principle according to which freedom of association is limited only by the same freedoms of other subjects in society, and the democratic aims and foundations of our self-managing socialist society. The model of political pluralism should essentially represent a negation of the single-party and multiparty monopolies of power. In other words, political pluralism should remove the constant danger of political monopolies and do this via new concrete forms of society's democratic development.

Stressing that by committing ourselves to the reform of the political system we are also committing ourselves to the concept of the SFRY's new constitution, Lazaroski pointed to the difficult situation in interethnic relations. Every member, organization, and organ of the LC must assume responsibility for the further development and advancement of the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities. We are committed to upgrading and deepening the fundamental commitments in interethnic relations on the basis of man's emancipation as the essential value.

At the same time we are comitted to the affirmation of the SFRY based on the AVNOJD [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] foundations and the equality of nations and its republics and the affirmation of it as a democratic community of its citizens. Likewise, the Macedonian LC will continue to strive to ensure all material, cadre, and other preconditions for the consolidation and development of equal interethnic relations in the Macedonian LC. On the same grounds we are committed to the development and consolidation of Yugoslav values and Yugoslav socialist patriotism as citizens' commitment to and awareness of their belonging to the Yugoslav socialist, self- managing, democratic and equal-rights community of its nations and nationalities.

The energetic demands of the working class and young people and their firm resolve to continue along the road of socialist self-management and unconditionally preserve brotherhood and unity, the equality of the nations and nationalities, and the federal character of the Yugoslav community, are the only platforms for the activity and behavior of all the leaderships in the country. On this platform the consciousness must prevail that a definitive end must be put to the unprincipled differences in the LCY and above all among the leaders, and also to the absolutization of one's own assessments and stances in connection with the situation, responsibility, character, and method of action in overcoming the sociopolitical crisis and in the resolution of the Kosovo drama. It is only on the basis of this platform that the LC can regain and preserve its authority and people's trust.

Lazaroski also pointed to the need for constantly innovating and strengthening activities in international relations and in Yugoslav foreign policy. He pointed in particular to the development of new approaches in the long-term strategy of the development of relations and cooperation with neighboring countries.

The non-recognition, assimilation, and denationalization of the Macedonian minority in neighboring countries and the negation of the Macedonian people and the SR of Macedonia by the immediate neighbors of the SR of Macedonian show that they continue to be a constituent part of the official policy and great- state nationalist and hegemonistic pretentions vis-a-vis the Macedonian national minority and the Macedonian people as a whole. The LC assesses that this represents a direct attack on, and the negation of, the integrity of the SR of Macedonia and the SFRY, and, therefore, energetically condemns them. The Macedonian LC resolutely stresses that in the consistent implementation of foreign policy, all opportunist and defensive attitudes, regardless of the reasons, must be overcome, and there must be insistence upon implementing party stances and constitutional orientations by the federal organs and on concern for the position of the Macedonian minority and likewise all other national minorities of the Yugoslav peoples in neighboring countries.

Considering the present status of the Macedonian national minority in the neighboring countries, the 10th congress of the LCY should pass a special resolution on the members of those parts of the Yugoslav nation who live as national minorities in neighboring countries and

on measures that should be taken as an integral part of the SFRY's foreign policy in the coming period to improve their status.

A radical transformation of the LC is the key to the social reforms as a whole, Lazaroski said. He underlined the commitment that the LC, as a political party and movement of the future classless society, should bring its social role into being and prove it under the conditions of self-managing political pluralism. The radical change to the LC's status within the political system represents the abandonment of its constitutionally defined position of being society's leading ideopolitical organization.

The first condition for a radical democratization of relations within the LC is the strengthening of LC members' status and influence and basic LC organizations' incentives and action capabilties. This implies the creation of conditions and organized prerequisites whereby an LC member is not to be reduced to the role of the executor of the leadership's directives but, to a much higher degree one, who initiates and is the prime creative subject of the organizing, formulating, and carrying out of the LC's policies.

We retain our commitment to democratic centralism as the fundamental and general principle of internal relations, organizing and acting in the LCY, Lazaroski stressed, but we are also committed to the expansion and consolidation of democratic centralism's democratic elements with the recognition for democratic protection of a minority within the LC. The LC member cannot be brought to account nor can he be expelled from the LC on the grounds of his political opinion or alternative proposal, expressed in an organization in the course of decision-making or in public. A procedure for establishing responsibility should stem from the democratic essence of and relations in the LC in the course of which the democratic rights of an LC member should by no means be infringed upon, nor should his work and civil rights be threatened.

Lazaroski also expressed the orientation for the wholesale respect of the historical and current circumstancs that condition the existence and independence of the LCs in the republics and provinces, in the framework of the LCY program and the LCY statute, but also the advocacy of the increase of their responsibility in the construction of LCY policy and its unified implementation. Here the starting point is their obligation to seek together the optimal answers to key questions of Yugoslav society, with arguments and democratically harmonized viewpoints. This also implies establishing instruments on the democratic resolution of the confrontation between individual parts of the LC and their leaderships.

This also means that when making decisions about essential program orientations that relate to the character of socialist self-managing society and the relations between, and equality of, the nations and nationalities in the federal Yugoslav community, centralized decision-making, out-voting, and majority decision-making should not be allowed. Likewise, possible blockades, which threaten the democratic method of establishing stances and policies and the action unity of the LCY, should also not be allowed, Jakov Lazaroski stressed at the end of his speech at the 10th Macedonian LC Congress.

Pancevski Addresses Congress

LD2711054589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1743 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Skopje, 26 Nov (TANJUG)—A speech was made this evening at the fifth plenary session of the 10th Macedonian League of Communists [LC] Congress by Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY CC [League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee] Presidium, who analyzed the LC's tasks in planning and implementing profound social reforms designed to lead to a new stage of socialism.

The 10th Macedonian LC congress and the congresses and conferences of the LC, particularly the 14th extraordinary congress of the LCY, Pancevski stressed, have exceptionally great political and historical responsibility in establishing the basic goals, contents, and guidelines for our further socialist development.

In the process, it is particularly important how the LC effectively overcomes the still-present dilemmas, confusion, and uncertainty. This also relates to the phenomena of the extremely uncritical and artificial acceptance of certain ideological and political concepts and models, and the claiming of all credit for some kind of false radicalism, the theses of which, in essence, are tantamount to a return to historically outmoded concepts and processes in domestic and world spheres, including the offering of programs from positions of anti-communism and anti-socialism.

To achieve this, Pancevski went on, we really must abandon crude nihilism and statements signifying the destruction of everything that exists, something that in the last resort is the expression of the creative sterility and powerlessness of these protagonists. Instead of this, our congresses and the whole activity of the LC should, in a dominant way, be oriented toward a true Marxist critical analysis of the road taken so far and its contradictions, failures, and such, and on this basis offer creative answers to the challenges of today, establish the short-term and long-term goals of socialism in our country, and mark out our involvement in progressive world processes.

To this end, over the last 5 of 6 months—and by way of preparing for the LCY congress—the LC has increasingly been turning toward and seeking strategic answers to our future. On these bases, Pancevski stressed, I would particularly like to stress that for the broadest membership of the LCY, our working class, and other progressive forces in society and the broadest strata of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities, there is no dilemma in relation to the survival of socialism and self-management.

Hence for the LC, the working class, and other progressive forces, the theses of some convinced "reformers" that socialism is some kind of artificial sociopolitical creation and historical failure are quite unacceptable. Under the guise of criticism of socialist development and its major weaknesses up to now, and in the name of the search for "new radical answers," consciously or unconsciously they are in essence offering concepts that globally and fundamentally negate and disqualify socialism and self-management, as a theory and as practice.

There is not even an elementary basis for the thesis that the destruction of individual models of socialism, especially in the countries of so-called real socialism, and our profound social crisis, in fact mean the negation and destruction of socialism as an idea and as practice in world terms. This is all the more so because Yugoslavia initiated the process of searching for new agreements for the development of socialism almost 40 years ago. The reforms being launched are the best indication of the creativity, dynamic nature, and undogmatic essence of socialism, or rather the creative tension of the LC and everything progressive and creative in society.

On the contrary, Pancevski pointed out, it is quite clear to all of us that socialism is the expression of historical necessity and laws in the development of society and production forces. It is, likewise, also the expression of the broadest immanent and unstoppable aspirations and struggle of man, as the creator of material and abstract values and as a free and creative personality, for his own constant emancipation and liberation from alienation, in other words, for control over surplus value and the destruction of various monopolies of alienated power and authority in any kind of political system.

It is also indisputable that socialism—in its complexity, in its essence, and in its historical perspectives—is increasingly becoming a constituent part and expression of civilization-oriented process, scopes, and values. Therefore, all these processes of the global turmoil within socialism cannot lead us to the destruction of and withdrawal from the basic visions of socialism. On the contrary, the profound crisis represents a powerful factor for motivation and is a challenge for us to discover new roads and models for developing socialism in our country.

Of course, this in no way signifies the glorification of or an uncritical attitude to all that helped to build unrealistic ideals, ideologized dogmas, warped solutions, and especially flagrant distortions of Marxism and socialist idea and practice. On the contrary, by its vehement Marxist criticism of general and specific ideological and practical mistakes, distortions, and shortcomings and by its revolutionary and creative potentials, the LC has been creating increasingly clear fundamental premises of the concept of the new stage in the development of socialism in our country. To this end, it is of crucial importance to reaffirm and promote unambigously and resolutely main fundamental points on which to build the qualities and the essence of a new model of socialism. We will achieve this through the LC's congress documents, by updating the LCY program and by adopting a new SFRY constitution.

However, Paceveksi stressed, we still find it difficult to arrive at proper solutions. By proper I mean the ones with a scientific foundation that will help to resolve the existing problems but will at the same time be in accordance with social and economic laws—both ours and those of the world—and will reflect a Yugoslav synthesis and common platform.

In addition to objective factors hampering our efforts to find the right solutions such as an overall social crisis, various dogmas that weigh heavily upon us, and difficulties stemming from our search for global and radically new solutions, our problems also result from many subjective factors in evidence on Yugoslav society's political scene. These factors primarily stem from attempts to treat as absolute various narrow interests and aspirations toward preserving differing monopolies of alienated economic and political powers. Of the same nature and goal are tendencies toward disintegration and national homogenization, conscious encouragement of or flirtation with nationalism, and even activities from nationalist positions on the part of individuals in the LC.

Parallel with the processes of democratization, phenomena and relations that have nothing in common with democracy and the search for responses to the needs of the time and of development are markedly present. In this area there are theses for the creation of some kind of elites and pseudo-leaderships, the essence of which is the retention or acquisition of authority and not the creation of elite values in terms of knowledge, capability, and the affirmation of the true moral values of man. We are often confronted with disqualification of anyone who thinks differently instead of with the real valuation of different ideas, programs, and true human and working qualities, Pancevski pointed out.

People are divided into democrats and reformers on the one hand, and dogmatists and conservatives on the other, in a purely biased, political way and without basic foundation. Haggling takes place as to who is with whom and against whom in Yugoslavia and in the republics, instead of our being connected by ideas and programs that will pull us out of the crisis and ensure that we have real prospects for a better life and will be an expression of a common general Yugoslav synthesis of interests.

In the context of all this, the president of the LCY CC Presidium stressed, various confrontations between individuals and leaderships and the so-called media war are becoming even more exacerbated. Attempts are made to rehabilitate some earlier leaders or create new leaders, and here both one and the other attribute to themselves the importance of some kind of rescuers of the nation, or even attempt to create for themselves treatment as the official institutions of the system.

The basic motive of these extremely negative phenomena, in Pancevski's opinion, is the purely pragmatic

aim of individuals to collect electoral points in the struggle for power. In the process they often do not pull any punches.

In my view the LC should openly and critically tackle these manifestations if it genuinely wishes to remain a vanguard and revolutionary force. It must be vehement in denouncing and overcoming these manifesations, Pancevski added. In addition, we must be fully aware of the fact that we can gain and enhance confidence in ourselves and our authority only by genuine efforts to resolve solutions in a progressive way, by ensuring the election of cadres capable of resolving our problems and not by relying on various demagogic promises, auctioneering, pseudo-radicalism, and the like

Continuing his speech at the congress of the Macedonian LC, Pancevski dwelt on the tasks facing the LC in the period up to the 14th extraordinary congress. He stressed that the congress will have to provide unanimous stands on main strategic issues and that the LC is expected to assume clear stands on them. In this context he listed eight issues:

—providing an even more firm foundation for our socialist self-management- based development with the original Marxist principles as its points of departure, and implementing them in a creative way and reaffirming them in practice;

—attaining a dialectic synthesis of cultural values and social regulations as promoted in the world today, with principled premises and values that determine socialism as a socioeconomic form as the main departure point;

—continuing efforts to enhance and safeguard main achievements and values of the national liberation struggle and socialist revolution in Yugoslavia such as socialist self-management, brotherhood, unity, equality, the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslvia] foundations of our federal system, and our country's independence and nonaligned foreign policy;

—further affirming and deepening the values, ideas, principles and practice achieved, which have been confirmed in our development up to now;

—ensuring all necessary systemic preconditions for the confirmation of socialism and self-management as an economically efficient system that will ensure a maximum of motivation, initiative, and the use of know-how and creativity in general, and on these bases ensuring a far more prosperous material and spiritual life for the individual and society as a whole;

—developing a political system of socialism, the basic subject of which will be the individual as the creator of material and abstrct values and as a free and creative political personality, and a system that will constantly expand the horizons of freedom and democracy and in which a democratic and efficient law-governed state will be constructed for the purpose of protecting human rights and freedoms, social values, and the bases of the social set-up of our country;

—contantly comparing and drawing mutual correlation with (?the impact of) the positive processes and experiences in the development of socialism in the world with positive experiences of other social systems, as well as constantly founding overall social development on the achievements of modern science, technical and technological progress, and the processes of integration in regional and world terms;

—ensuring that Yugoslavia, as a whole, expresses itself as an active and constituent part of and factor in all progressive progresses in Europe, in the Nonaligned Movement, and in the world, on the principles of independence, autonomy, and nonalignment.

In the framework of the above strategic and global issues of our further development, the president of the LCY CC Presidium stressed, key points are the character and position of social ownership, political pluralism, the development and realization of relations in the federation, and the place and role of the LC in the reformed political system.

As far as social ownership is concerned, Pancevski stressed, it is of vital importance that the LC energetically counter existing confusion and deformed ideas that see this form of ownership as an artificial economic category with no real prospects, etc., in other words that see complete reprivatization as the only solution or prospect. It is, it seems, being forgotten that the socialization of property in general, even in present-day and most developed capitalism, is an immanent economic law, and that for socialism, social ownership is one of its main foundations. In other words, we cannot have a disinterested and passive attitude to the real status of this type of ownership.

These issues, Pancevski added, are the cause of great concern, uncertainty, and major ideological and political dilemmas among the majority of the working people and citizens, particularly among the working class. The LC must therefore be totally unambiguous and clear about the need within the framework of pluralism of an equality for all forms of ownership to carry out radical changes in attitude to social ownership as both an economic category and social capital. These changes would lead to its economic efficiency and competitiveness in relation to other forms of ownership.

Without radical transformations in the sphere of social ownership and without efficient system-pertaining solutions based on scientific facts and economic laws, and with the existing unfavorable and non-economic status of social ownership and enormous strains exerted upon it, and with the basically inefficient and diversified system of financial operations, with the lack of uniformity in the system of taxation and the legal system, it must be clear to all of us that under such conditions socially owned property can in no way be in an equal

position. On the contrary, both objectively and in relation to the system, it is in a totally subordinate position.

We must, in relation to political pluralism as well, Pancevski continued, overcome a certain confusion, certain dilemmas, or unacceptable theses. It must be clear to us as the LC that political pluralism is an immanent category in socialism as well. However, in the way in which this category is introduced and operated in the system, we must have completely clear orientations that will serve the realization of the bases of a social system and the implementation of political pluralism, and not their negation.

To this end, Pancevski added, the theses according to which the essence and forms of political pluralism are fully identified with and reduced only to the classical multiparty system, and whereby political pluralism cannot have any constitutional framework, are unacceptable to the LC. Here it is quite clear that political pluralism in every classical society and corresponding political system of this society is determined by the character and bases on which this social set-up is based. As a result, political pluralism in our country must also objectively be based on a socialist orientation and on a federal system and the protection of basic human and social values, which as an objective framework must be incorporated into a new SFRY constitution.

At the same time, the LC cannot be for a political pluralism that will, in essence, be the replacement of a single-party monopoly by another one or by several monopolies of power and surplus values. On the contrary, socialist political pluralism, and liberating and articulating to the greatest possible extent creative potential within society and each individual, in the context of the development of socialism, self-management, and democracy, must open up processes for the control of surplus value by the creators of material and abstract values, and, on these bases, the expropriation of all forms of monopoly.

Instead of being a factor of divisions, especially those on national bases, political pluralism must, Pancevski added, have a favorable influence on overall social integrational processes and be a factor of promoting and implementing basic human values, rights, and freedoms and not promoting scope for manipulating people. It must be a factor in the efforts to increase the efficiency of the system and not to block it. Instead of creating room for mutual accusations and confrontations, it should help to promote and apply the principle of responsibility in society.

In other words, Pancevksi said, if we aim toward implementing the above principles of political pluralism in our country, we must ensure that it comprises the wealth of the best democratic achievements as well as the main features developed so far by modern societies in the sphere of political organization. This, however, should not be attained by arbitrarily copying or artificially transposing multiparty political organizations but through further promoting and implementing those forms of socialist self-management-based democracy, which have been attested by our development so far.

The president of the LCY CC Presidium went on to stress that neither emerging from the crisis nor implementing reforms is possible without a clear and principled definition of the place and role of the Yugoslav federation. We must take into consideration the fact that the Yugoslav federation is far from being an arbitrary or incidental historic creation. It is an expression of the historical aspirations and ideals of Yugoslav nations and nationalities that during the national liberation war, socialist revolution and the AVNOJ principles became established as the community of equal nations and nationalities.

To remain loyal to AVNOJ foundations and, further, to develop the Yugoslav federation as a democratic, efficient and modern community is in the strategic and historical interest of all our nations and nationalities, Pancevski stressed. The struggle against all those forces intent on destabilizing, retailoring, and destroying Yugoslavia by various means is in fact a struggle for national reaffirmation and the identity of all our nations and nationalities and for their life together. In view of this the SR of Macedonia has been and will remain an expression of and a means for fulfilling the Macedonian people's centuries-old ideals and continuing struggle for its identity, promotion, sovereignty, and statehood.

Planning and implementing the overall social reforms necessarily require a new, modern, and effective LC, Pancevski went on to stress. Some protagonists of alien ideologies and policies wish to show that, through the social reforms and its own transformation, the LC should step down from the political scene and become some kind of debating club. An objective and very favorable consistent political basis for its affirmation is created for the LC by the struggle for a new model and a new developemental stage of socialism.

The program orientations of the LC, their constant progressive and developmental innovation, and their expression as a party of a movement as well as of direct political action, are a powerful guarantee and basis for its avant-garde character, revolutionary nature, and attractiveness within the class and beyond in society.

On these bases, by developing all democratic institutions and relations in society and destroying all monopolies of authority and power, including its own monopoly, the LC will in the period ahead, through all the institutions and mechanisms of the political system, fight for authority, which will mean a struggle to implement its political orientations. Its essence is not power for anyone, not even for the LC, but power for all those who create surplus value, and power for the individual as a producer and as a free and political personality, Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY CC Presidium, said, speaking this evening at the plenary session of the 10th Macedonian LC Congress.

Voting Results Announced

LD2711182289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1027 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Skopje, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—By demand of a number of delegates, the Election Commission of the Macedonian LC [League of Communists] 10th congress had announced the results of yesterday's vote for members of the new Macedonian LC Central Committee.

Petar Gosev and Mihail Danev, candidates for president of the Macedonian LC, won 365 and 336 votes, respectively.

Of the three candidates for secretary of the executive and political body of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, Tito Petkovski won 352 votes, Mirce Tomovski 288, and Todor Cuskarovski 287 votes.

Announcing the results, the president of the Election Commission pointed out that this was just an announcement that these candidates for president and secretary of the Macedonian LC Central Committee's executive organ had won enough votes to be elected to the new composition of the Macedonian LC Central Committee.

The new president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee will, in fact, be elected through a vote that is now under way, while the secretary of Macedonian LC Central Committee's exective organ will be elected by the new executive organ's members at their next session.

President Elected

LD2811000189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2138 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Skopje, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—At the first session in a new composition, the Macedonian LC [League of Communists] Central Committee this evening elected Petar Gosev as new president of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium. Out of 81 members of the Macedonian LC Central Committee, 46 voted for Gosev, and 33 for Mihailo Danev, the other candidate.

Presidium Elected

LD2811075589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2314 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Skopje, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—The Macedonian League of Communists Central Committee [LC CC] this evening elected a new Presidium, and it in turn elected Tito Petkovski its secretary at its first session.

The following are members of the new Presidium of the Macedonian LC CC: Boris Andonovski, Apostol Arbelski, Zurap Limani, Dimitar Nikolovski, Nikola Popovski, Djordji Spasov, Sofija Todorova, Erol Hajretin, Branko Crvenkovski, Mirce Tomovski, and Mile Sapkaliev.

The statutory commission of the Macedonian LC elected Petar Kalajdziski for its president, and the supervisory Ilija Joldasev for its president.

Congress Ends

LD2811180589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2235 GMT 27 Nov 89

[Text] Skopje, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—The fact that the 10th Macedonian League of Communists Congress approved all the most progressive excerpts in the program document shows that it was successful. This was stressed by Petar Gosev, the newly elected president of the Macedonian League of Communists Central Committee, at the end of the 3-days work of the highest meeting of Yugoslav Communists.

Macedonian Communists on Foreign Minorities

LD2611223289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 26 Nov 89

[Text] Skoplje, Nov 26 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Macedonia maintains that the non-recognition of the Macedonian people and the assimilation of the Macedonian minority in neighbouring countries represent a direct attack on the Republic of Macedonia and Yugoslavia as a whole and a negation of their integrity, the Committee for (?International) Macedonian party congress said.

The committee, one of the five set up by the congres which began yesterday, concluded its work today.

The president and executive secretary of the Macedonian party Central Committee will be elected this evening by secret vote.

Urging a strengthening of ties and promotion of relations with Greece, Albania and Bulgaria, the League of Communists of Macedonia pointed out that Yugoslavia's policy towards neighbouring countries should be based on the principles of goodneighbourliness and reciprocity. In this, special attention should be paid to protecting the interests, integrity and rights of the Yugoslav minorities in these countries the committee said.

The Yugoslav foreign service was criticized for inconsistency in treating the sections of the Macedonian people in Bulgaria, Albania and Greece.

The congress demanded an analysis of Yugoslavia's post-war policy towards the neighbouring countries.

A letter from the Assembly of Aegean Macedonians living in Skopje was also read in the committee. Protesting against the non-recognition of their national and human rights in Greece, Aegean Macedonians urged the official representatives of Macedonian and Yugoslav foreign policy to seek a recognition of these rights.

Macedonian Youth To Protest in Skopje

AU2311113689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 23 Nov 89

[Text] A meeting entitled "The voice of Macedonian students" is scheduled to be held in Skopje this afternoon. The occasion for this meeting is young people's dissatisfaction with the general social situation and the position of students. There is also a demand from the young people of Macedonia that this republic not become an economic, spiritual, and intellectual province of Yugoslavia and Europe. The meeting was organized by the University Conference of the Macedonian youth organization. A similar meeting will be held at (?Bitola) University today.

'Young Macedonian Democrats' Viewed

AU2811163889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18-19 Nov 89 p 4

[Dragan Nikolic commentary: "Three Aces"]

[Text] It is both difficult and easy to answer the question of on whose side Macedonia is and on whose it is not, in the present Yugoslav ferments and confrontations. In seeking an answer however, too great an importance is attributed to the relation between Kolisevski and Crvenkovski, the main personalities in modern Macedonian political history. One usually thinks that if Kolisevski has an advantage, then the "Serbian option" is dominating in Macedonian politics, and if Crvenkovski has an advantage then the dominant aspect of the Macedonian politics is the Macedonian national question (even going beyond the line at which Macedonian nationalism begins) including, it goes without saying, quarrels with simply everybody in the country and beyond.

The two aces of the Macedonian politics—who, by the way, like to say that their relations in the past were idyllic—have recently exchanged public "epistles" including mutual accusations along that very line. In all this, one has neglected the third real Macedonian political power, Vasil Tupurkovski and his "youth backers" who, unlike the "vanguard," are honest because they do not issue slogans about the power of the workers class, but about their own power for which, as is said, they will fight on the basis of their own program, outside the Socialist Alliance and without the item in the statute about the League of Communists as their vanguard. They will enter the elections race for ministerial posts in the government and for seats in the Assembly. Therefore, they will fight for power as the party of the young people.

This potential party of the young people (it should be formed at their forthcoming congress) accuses the "hard-line" party authorities of Jakov Lazaroski—who have issued the slogan that they do not side with anybody in Yugoslav confrontations (they are on the side of Yugoslavia)—as well as the "hard-line" executive authorities of Gligorije Gogovski, president of the Macedonian Government, of responsibility for the "party-state fiasco" of Macedonian politics. Some other politicians of the "old guard" who, by the way, advocate a more moderate reform of the political system, are also not in the good books of this real power on the present Macedonian political scene. They also bear a special grudge against Mihail Danev, candidate for the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia (who is said to be a rationalistic politician), primarily because he held a high post during Jakov Lazaroski's "fiasco policy."

Vasil Is Entering the Stage

If it is true that power in Macedonia is now "rolling down the street," then it is more than certain that the young people are the only ones capable of taking it. There is a rumor that Vasil Tupurkovski may "enter the stage" at the forthcoming Macedonian party congress, to become the head of the Macedonian party when the initiative is made for the Congress to elect him. However, the rumors that the wave of young Macedonian democrats is continuing Crvenkovski's liberalism—based mostly on the fact that they criticize the existing state-political authorities that are thought to be Kolisevski's—are unfounded. It seems that they do not criticize these authorities because of the side they belong to, but because of its ways: The young people are of the opinion that they are undemocratic and unsuccessful. After all, at the beginning of the sixties, Crvenkovski's liberals used to violently destroy party dogmas, but have never proclaimed—and even less implemented—the principles of a law-governed state. Instead, they relied on a somewhat more liberal political will and on absolving the intelligentsia of the "sin of bolshevism." They also did not do too much about granting rights to political opponents, nor did they consider cadre democracy important. True, liberals did make "child steps" of democracy under the conditions of the domination of the "bolshevist consciousness." Young Macedonian democrats are an independent Macedonian political phenomenon with a Yugoslav orientation.

The eight party activists in the republican secretariat for internal affairs who were suspended for starting the initiative to establish the responsibility of Gligorije Gogovski, are a part of this wave. One can see from this example how deep the confrontation on the present Macedonian political scene is. Vasil Tupurkovski has twice publicly criticized the crude repression of the republican minister of internal affairs, but the Government has flatly refused the suspended people's objection as unfounded.

One could not assert that the wave of young Macedonian democrats is for or against somebody in Yugoslavia or, let us put it this way, that it is pro-Serb or pro-Slovene. One has the impression that its ambitions are reaching further, that it supports Yugoslav democratic integration upon the foundations of expanded rights of citizens and peoples. It seems that in this respect they would like to be more active on the Yugoslav level than any of the former

Macedonian "political options." It is possible that, in this respect, they continue the democratic traditions of the more distant Macedonian past (Krusevo Manifesto [document issued during St.Elias' Day uprising in 1903], Goce Delcev, and the like), more than that of Krste Crvenkovski's liberals.

Left Out Again

When youth leader Risto Ivanov says, "It is not fair to approve of manipulations one time and punish them another" and that it is "unacceptable to promote street politics at one place as the highest expression of democracy and yet, when they happen at another place, to proclaim the events to be counterrevolutionary," then it is not an anti-Serb, but a principled stand that originates from the very essence of this wave.

Similarly, to stress human rights as the basic principle of Yugoslav democracy is not anti-AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] (or anti-Slovene), but a simple and open statement stressing an elementary civilizational norm. One could say that the wave's basic motto is free market and the European spirit of democratic everyday life. Therefore, even when it rolls down the street, power is not taken there, on the street, but in the elections, by secret ballot, and among competing programs. Power can thereby acquire legitimacy.

However, while young Macedonian democrats see the country's future in a "democratic option," the present regional interstate associations that are working on this are leaving Macedonia—it is claimed—in the "Balkan appendage," that is, outside these associations.

Boge Sotirovski, president of the Republican Social Council, says that Macedonia is connected with these associations (Alps-Adriatic Association, Mediterranean maritime cooperation, and the Danube group) only through the planned highway leading from the sea to Skopje via Kosovo, which is in the distant future, as well as through the Vardar-South Morava-Danube waterway, which is in the even more distant future. He claims that barriers are put on Macedonia's way to join these associations and thereby enter Europe "through the side door." The theses issued by the Social Council say that this is "a certain regional economic homogenization," that "the broad Yugoslav interest is insufficiently present in joining these associations," and that "there is a tendency to retain the agreement economy positions." In all this, Macedonia is "left aside because of its geographic position and not because of the structure of its production."

It is claimed that Slovenia, Croatia, and Serbia lead the way in these great preparations to open the "side door." Bosnia-Hercegovina will join the Alps-Adriatic Association and the maritime cooperation group through the narrow channel at Neum, and Montenegro is only an observer, probably because it does not want to have closer relations than that with its ideological opponents, Slovenia and Croatia. Only Macedonia is left out. Its history seems to be repeating itself; before the war it was "left out" for strategic reasons—and now for geographic ones.

Reduction in Kosovo Combined Militia Rejected

LD0412150589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Dec (TANJUG)—There are no legal or other normative preconditions for the republican Secretaries for Internal Affairs and the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs from Vojvodina to withdraw their workers from the contingent of the combined militia unit of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs [SSUP], which by a decision of the state Presidency was formed and sent to Kosovo in October 1987. This was stressed in an SSUP reply today to a question from Delegate Vladimir Sazdov at the SFRY Assembly.

The combined militia unit in Kosovo draws recruits proportionately from the total number of police workers in each of the republics and the Socialist Autonomous Republic of Vojvodina, or rather in the SSUP, it is pointed out in the reply.

In the SSUP they recall that it was specified in precise terms in the decision of the state Presidency that a combined militia unit of up to 300 workers be sent to Kosovo. The Federal secretary is allowed, depending on the development of events, to increase or reduce the number of members in the combined unit, which is made up of police workers from internal affairs organs in the republics and Vojvodina.

Trust in Courts Urged at Vlasi Trial

AU2811175689 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 23 Nov 89 p 4

[Pristina Radio-Television commentary: "Against Manipulation a Obfuscation"]

[Text] As the public was informed some time ago, the trial concerning the counterrevolutionary activity of Azem Vlasi and 14 other defendants resumes today [23 November] in Titova Mitrovica. As we know, when the trial began 3 weeks ago, it sparked fresh conflicts in Kosovo. Once again the inhabitants of several Kosovo towns witnessed terrifying scenes, crowds in the streets, and clashes between groups of young people and the militia. Even before the air was cleared of tear gas, organized nationalist and separatist enemies warned of fresh conflicts when the trial resumes.

This begs the question of in whose name and in whose interests they are doing this.

The answer must be: definitely not in the name of the Albanian nationality and in their interests. After all, the Albanian nationality themselves made a direct response to the conflicts at the beginning of this month: Their broad masses did not join the enemy. This is a sign of a predominant awareness that what happened had nothing

to do with their interests, that it was a ploy devised by the enemy, adding the new feature of terrorism to the tactics of nationalism and separatism. This term can never be used in connection with Albanian nationality, because terrorism never has been and never will be one of their characteristics. The Albanian nationality themselves can first of all testify to this, because the broad masses of citizens dissociated themselves from the nationalists and separatists, setting a firm line of demarcation between the national and the nationalistic. This was all the easier, since those anti-Albanian forces who are attempting to blur this line are small. We must therefore trust the League of Communists, whose ideopolitical activity will first of all save a section of the younger generation from the claws of these organized enemies, whom they are blindly following to the point of self-destruction. Parents, teachers, and every one of us must give a great deal of help in this political battle, which involves both commitment and ideopolitical measures, and it must be clear to us all that nobody's fate and well-being can be more important to us than those of the younger generation, who must be our guarantee for the future, and not the object of manipulation and political chicanery in these difficult and confused times.

As far as the trial in Titova Mitrovica is concerned, every effort must be made to ensure that it proceeds in accordance with the procedures of a law-governed state. If we hold anything in common currently in Yugoslavia, it is the demand for a strengthening of the law-governed state. The trial which continues today is a test of this. Every further new dose of politicization can only bring even greater harm.

As Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, also said some time ago, we must have complete trust in our courts and judicial institutions, as in all other modern, law-governed European states.

Trial Resumes 4 Dec

LD0412141189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1310 GMT 4 Dec 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, Province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, Dec 4 (TANJUG)—Chief court proceedings on the indictment charging 15 defendants with counter-revolutionary threats to Yugoslavia's social order was resumed before the district court here today.

The lead-defendant, Azem Vlasi, an ethnic Albanian, started his defence today. He rejected all indictment counts and qualified his arrest and being brought to court as a rigged-up political process. In his opinion, all of this is the grossest form of infringing on the state of law, law abuse and attack on human freedoms, proposing that his indictment be withdrawn.

Today's proceedings passed in the sign of several interventions by Spasoje Zamfirovic, the district public prosecutor [words indistinct] board of judges not to allow Vlasi, he said, deliver a political speech and go beyond the indictment framework.

Vlasi's defence lawyers were quick to oppose that.